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Designers Worried by 'Buran' Shuttle Program Cutbacks

PM2307083593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Sergey Leskov: "Chief Designers' Council Calls For Resuscitation of 'Buran'"]

[Text] The fourth Russian-French space expedition ends 22 July. After the change of crew, Vasiliy Tsybleyev and Aleksandr Serebrov will continue work on board the "Mir" complex. Gennadiy Manakov, Aleksandr Poleshchuk, and Jean-Pierre Haigniere are returning to Earth. To tell the truth, this international flight has been overshadowed by other events in the cosmonautics sphere.

A good deal has been written about the trouble over the Russian-Indian contract to supply cryogenic rocket engines and the revision of the agreement during the recent visit to Washington by Yuriy Koptev, head of the Russian Space Agency. There are various assessments of the economic consequences for Russia of its reorientation from East to West, but even if one assumes that the as yet hypothetical commerce in the cosmonautics sphere with the United States and Europe would be more profitable for us than the business that has been arranged with India, the implementation of these plans could be hampered by entirely prosaic reasons, which were not mentioned in Washington.

The IZVESTIYA editorial office was handed a statement by the Chief Designers' Council on the "Buran" space shuttle system and a letter to the Russian president, signed on the Council's behalf by its chairman, Academician Yuriy Semenov, general director of the "Energiya" Science and Production Association. These documents voice the concern of leading Russian specialists (the council comprises 52 general directors and designers from major military-industrial complex enterprises) over the steady winding down of funding for the "Buran" space shuttle system, which is now less than 5 percent of what is required. In this connection the Chief Designers' Council states that the creation [sozdaniye] of the "Buran" orbital spacecraft and "Energiya" rocket, which are unlike anything else in the world, is being suspended.

One could argue for a long time about the technical expediency at the present stage of the powerful "Energiya"-"Buran" system, for which there are no suitable payloads on the horizon at the moment. But there is no doubt that 60-70 percent (that was "Buran's" share of the space budget only recently) of the activities of the Baykonur space center and its administrative center, Leninsk, depend on the future of this system. And the current dire plight of the space center, which is on the verge of extinction, is largely due to the freezing of "Buran."

Commentaries on the results of the Washington talks mentioned the figure of $800 million as the Russian side's potential gain. But this profit can only be earned if all the Baykonur space center services and the developed social infrastructure of Leninsk function properly. But the city is visibly dying at the moment, the space center's technical facilities are being destroyed, and expensive, abandoned systems are being looted. With the best will in the world, the West will not be able to entrust to us the launching of its spacecraft in these circumstances.

What is being proposed in order to preserve the space center? V. Filin, deputy chief designer of means of orbital insertion, said that the "Energiya" and "Molniya" Science and Production Associations are devising a project to replace the heavy "Buran" and "Energiya" with lighter facilities. This work will not require major investment, since the most expensive part of creating new materials, the launch complex, and propulsion systems was accomplished when the basic system was developed. General designers Academicians G. Lozino-Lozinskiy and Yu. Semenov believe that the lighter "MAKS" space craft and "Energiya-M" rocket will be able to attract a great deal of business in the world space market.

But at the first stage this promising project requires state financial support. This is the way astronautics is developed in Western countries. It is in this sphere that Russia currently has the most realistic opportunity of joining the world community. It would be very galling if we were to overcome all the diplomatic barriers and end up penniless because of our own shortsightedness and inability to keep our own house in order.

A space center veteran told me in Baykonur recently, with bitterness in his voice, that the launching of "Buran" to maintain Russia's prestige in the world would be more important than the results of the referendum. Well, there is some truth in this view. By forfeiting our technical priorities, we would automatically slip into the category of second-class states.

If we are deliberately giving up on "Buran" and Baykonur there was no reason for abandoning the deal with India because in that case it is our ceiling.

Yeltsin To Meet Central Asian Leaders Mid-August

LD2307084193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] An RIA correspondent has learned from trustworthy sources that preparations are under way for a meeting among the leaders of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. It is planned to hold the meeting tentatively in one of the southern Uzbek towns in mid-August. It is expected that Russian President Boris Yeltsin will take part in it. Formally, the agenda will deal with the issue of the Aral Sea, but the topics under discussion will be significantly broadened by including key questions of a political, military, and economic nature.

Russian Economists Do Not Approve of Slavic Union

LD2207200893 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] A group of prominent Russian economists and statesmen released a statement in which they characterized the economic policy reflected in the decision to form an economic union adopted by the governments heads of Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine as "short-sighted."

In the statement that was signed in particular by Stanislav Shatalin, Leonid Abalkin, Vadim Bakatin, and other leaders of the Reforma International Fund, it is noted that the agreement of the heads of three Slavic states could be welcomed if not for the fact that it "can be viewed as a political reaction to steps taken by the countries of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan toward a closer cooperation with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan."

The leaders of the Reforma Fund believe that the decision adopted by "the three" without having Kazakhstan and Central Asian states previously consulted and their stance clarified, "considerably restricts the possibility of their participation in the Union." "Moreover, such a statement can alienate these countries from participation in the economic union. Besides, it was Kazakhstan that has always been one of the major initiators of a much closer integration and a system of coordinating agencies."

The authors of the document underline that such a foreign economic policy toward Kazakhstan and other CIS countries is "short-sighted and does not suit Russian or other countries' interests either in a short- or a long-term prospect."

"The main way of deepening economic integration with the former USSR countries is seen in the development and implementation of the declaration on setting up an economic union within the CIS frameworks. The efforts of all states should be focused on this issue. Limitations and obstacles should not be introduced into this essentially complicated process because they can undermine the fundamentals of such a fragile and so much needed consensus reached in Moscow," the statement says.

Problems of Baykonur's Future Examined

PM2207142393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 2

[Valeriy Komarov article: "'Star Wars' Over Baykonur: The Usual Road Into Space Wrecked by Political Potholes"]

[Text] Karaganda—If you picture the Baykonur cosmodrome, the rocket launch site, as being partly like an aircraft carrier, no one would dare to describe the age-old Kazakh steppes as neutral international waters. Just like in the Black Sea Fleet's case, you cannot divide the cosmodrome even if you wanted to: Baykonur does not hover in the air, it does not float on the waves, it is buried deep in the Kazakh steppes. That has long been common knowledge or at least was known long before the historic moment when the three venerable wise men met in the Belovezhskaya Forest and decided the main questions of the USSR and everything connected with it.

Baykonur is in the latter category. Without the Union, without the efforts of all 15 former Soviet republics, it simply could not have existed, but when communications and relations between the states broke down the cosmodrome, left unattended, fell into decay and began to die.

In their prime the cosmodrome and its satellite city of Leninsk with a population of 90,000 were considered a "communist oasis" in a life which was otherwise dull and meagerly provided. Fine equipment, prestigious work, and the "military cleanliness" of the streets and homes compensated for the burdens associated with the harsh climate and the loneliness of the secret settlement forsaken out in the steppes. Everything here was maintained by the military. The soldiers baked the bread and swept the sidewalks, they drove the city's buses and built nine-story panelled apartment blocks, they delivered the mail and made the water of the Syrdarya River fit to drink—all this in addition, of course, to standing guard over the military installations and their "routine drudgery" in the barracks.

Initially Leninsk was created as a temporary, short-term, home for the specialists serving the cosmodrome. Its entire infrastructure was geared to that. During the years when Baykonur still shook to the roar of frequent rocket launches, money poured into the city budget. Schools, kindergartens, streets, and apartment blocks were repaired.

Now, with the cancellation of many of the space programs, there is no money for the city and the upkeep of the cosmodrome. Both the Russian and the Kazakh sides are in debt to Baykonur. Because of the uncertainty of its status there is simply no point in Russia's investing

resources in someone else's installation, while Kazakhstan cannot afford such a luxury. As a result Baykonur's problems have become as bad as they can be. It is a long time now since the stores have had abundant stocks, it is difficult to buy bread and milk, and things are constantly breaking down: First the water supply, then the sewage system, then the heating.

Russia and Kazakhstan have already concluded more than one agreement on questions of Baykonur and Leninsk in their attempt to maintain the manageability of the cosmodrome and retain valuable specialist cadres and unique technologies, but as always here, for some reason contracts "work" only on paper. Whereas in real life, conversely, everything has only gotten worse.

First Kazakhstan announced the nationalization of the army formations and thus plunged the officers corps into a state of shock. Then Russia, in breach of the accords, entrusted the management of Baykonur to its own newly created military-space forces. Then Kazakhstan seized the initiative back and hurriedly appointed its own representatives in the city and created an interstate commission headed by its own vice premier. Then Russia fought back and introduced its own militia and security services [rezhimnyye sluzhby] in Leninsk...

A tug of war is quite appropriate in this situation where each side is sure of its "historical" rightness. Russia owns the advanced technology. Kazakhstan is the owner of the land and now owns everything which was on it at the moment of the proclamation of national independence. And of course each side is doing its best to try to establish its control over the installation.

As long as this uncertainty reigns at Baykonur certain officers and NCO's are leaving their apartments and heading north.

Exactly a year ago, when the previous Russian-French crew with Michel Tognini blasted off into space, the number of officers and men employed in mounting the rocket on the launch pad was almost one-third less than prescribed on the official roster. The numerical strength of the construction units from Baykonur which Almaty took under its own jurisdiction has fallen, according to some sources, from 30,000 men to 5,000. There are 2,500 vacancies for officers in the rocket supply technical support services. It can hardly be expected that this process of "depopulation" of the cosmodrome will not continue.

Uncertainty undermines people's morale in the same way as inactivity. But the majority are still trying to fight their "fate." Recently, for example, the republic's newspapers carried a letter which the collective of workers and employees of the cosmodrome's military-construction units sent to the presidents and leaders of the parliaments of Kazakhstan and Russia. The letter repeats what everyone already knows.

"It is very distressing to see the death of a city which not so long ago was our country's pride and joy.

"The crime situation in the city has deteriorated sharply. The crime rate is rising day by day. People are afraid for their homes, their children, their wives, their husbands. No one in this city is safe from the orgy of violence perpetrated by the riff-raff and criminals. The city has become a haven for bums, for criminals, and for people hiding from justice and they are helped by the wide-open spaces here..."

The army mutinies which have rocked this area in recent years are by no means a random occurrence. They are provoked by the general situation at Baykonur in which officers are more concerned for their own future while other "authorities" focus their attention on the soldiers, as has happened in the construction troops. The slightest discontent with the conditions of service or food shortages and there are major outbreaks of insubordination.

The latest such outburst occurred in June this year, although fortunately it passed off without casualties. Baykonur lost three barracks, a club, a hospital, and a library razed to the ground. The cause of the unrest is the same as always. The military construction troops, now under Kazakhstan's jurisdiction, receive considerably less pay than the soldiers stationed in the Russian units nearby. They cannot even afford to buy themselves tobacco.

How do the politicians see the way out of these so confused labyrinths?

According to sources in Almaty, it was presumed that President Nazarbayev and President Yeltsin would attend the conference in Baykonur timed to coincide with the latest international space flight. By the beginning of July, however, the sides stopped at the level of top government officials. The Kazakhstani delegation was headed by Premier Sergey Tereshchenko, the Russian delegation by First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets, who is well known to the people of Kazakhstan.

On the first day of the talks, it is claimed, an alignment of positions between Tereshchenko and Soskovets was evident. They were ready right then to sign compromise documents which would make it possible to continue working without conflict even if they did not finally settle Baykonur's future. However, in the afternoon Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev arrived at the cosmodrome and firmly demanded that Baykonur be given the status of a Russian military space base. Kazakhstan could not accept that for the simple reason that its Constitution states plainly that the deployment of foreign military bases on the state's territory is not permitted.

Day two of the talks did not bring Defense Minister Pavel Grachev the results that he desired and, at an officers' assembly in Leninsk, he angrily branded this meeting of government delegations a "vaudeville show."

Unfortunately the sides did not agree on much, just the financing of Baykonur for the forthcoming winter and the payment of all outstanding debts to the cosmodrome.

An agreement was adopted on the joint manning of forces stationed on the republic's territory, and the Russian Army assumed a commitment to train a small number of Kazakhstani draftees at their training centers.

But the residents of Leninsk expected more of course: They expected an end to the difficult period of uncertainty. Today's status quo merely puts the accumulated problems "on ice" for many years to come because Kazakhstan is still not ready to operate Baykonur autonomously and Russia, it seems, is no longer prepared to. People "up north" are now actively discussing the question: Does Moscow need Baykonur? Can it not make do with Plesetsk alone which furthermore is located on its own territory? Would it not be better to immediately divert the billions planned for the upkeep of Baykonur to its own cosmodrome?

The short answer—get rid of it! That, of course, is easier and less onerous for the politicians. What about for the peoples who in past decades gave everything they had to launch a manned rocket into space? And for the now shattered economies which still need information from space and, perhaps because of their isolation, need that information more than ever before?

I do not hide the fact that in Kazakhstan there are also certain forces which want to make Baykonur serve the interests of the Kazakh people and the republic exclusively and forever, but realistic politicians see the cosmodrome's future in a switch from purely military projects to the peaceful, productive, commercial use of unique technologies. After all, the launch of a single international crew already brings in tens of millions of dollars and there are plenty of people who want to go into near-earth space.

Meanwhile, the discussion of all this is a matter for the future. The main thing now is that neither of the "high contracting parties" should act like the eponymous hero of Lope de Vega's play. I mean "The Dog in the Manger."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Jul

LD2307055693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0512 GMT 23 Jul 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 23 ITAR-TASS—The case with the nuclear button is now in possession of Russian Defence Minister General Pavel Grachev, chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov told KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The article published by the newspaper today says that "the Russian minister received the case after Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the CIS allied armed forces, who was at the same time the commander-in-chief of the CIS Strategic Armed Forces, quit his post." The newspaper reminds that the strategic nuclear forces of the former USSR are located on the territories of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border continues to be complicated. Frontier posts are given assistance, and not only from Russia. "Along with the reinforcement of the border, actions against armed groups of Islamist fighters are being stepped up in the Gorno-Bagdashan autonomous region of Tajikistan," the newspaper points out.

According to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the danger of Russia being drawn into a large-scale war in Tajikistan is quite real. Quoting the sources close to the Russian defence minister, the newspaper writes that "Major General Chechulin, commander of the Russian Frontier Guard Troops in Tajikistan, will, most probably, be retired soon. By all appearances, there will be more retirements among the top command of the Russian Frontier Guard Troops."

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, publication of the Russian Government, carries an interview with Andrey Kokoshin, Russia's first deputy defence minister, which deals with problems of the Russian arms- manufacturing industry. Responding to the question if proceeds of the export of Russian armaments went down as against 1990, Kokoshin said that they remained on about the same level and stand today at some 2.7 billion dollars a year. According to Kokoshin, now the priority task for the arms-manufacturing industry is to enter the market in those regions, where there is payable demand in weapons. "These areas include the Persian Gulf zone and South-East Asia ... However, this is a very tough market because of the struggle between arms exporters, which sometimes ceases to be purely commercial," he said.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries an article which strongly criticises the recent decision of the Russian parliament to submit President Yeltsin's decree "On State Guarantees of the Right of Russian Citizens to Participation in the Privatization Process" to the Constitutional Court, which should examine its constitutionality. Fifty seven per cent of Russian small enterprises have already become privately owned. About one third of people employed at large enterprises work at those enterprises which have been privatized or turned into joint-stock companies. The newspaper stresses that the parliament's decision has been denounced by the most prominent economists of the country and expresses hope that "the government and the president will soon take reply measures."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Yegor Gaydar who is now heading the institute for tackling problems of the transitional period. According to the newspaper, the institute is helping various regions of Russia "to get adjusted to the market situation and to draw up investment programmes". Analysing the economic situation in the country, Gaydar said he was startled by the speed with which Russian society learned the new rules of the game. "This happened far more quickly than anyone could expect—me or my friends, international experts. I think the Russian regions, when faced with the realities of 1993 and 1994, will begin to

adapt themselves quickly to a new economic situation and will shape their own economic policies in a different way," Gaydar stressed.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD and PRAVDA carry reports about the search in the office of Mikhail Poltoranin, chairman of the Federal Information Centre, which was staged on Thursday by representatives of the prosecutor-general's office. "One could expect it. After the latest resolutions of the parliament, aimed at strangling the freedom of the press and putting an end to privatization, investigating officers with search warrants may appear at any moment in the offices of Sobchak, Shakhray, Shumeyko or Chubays. An offensive is being launched against the loyal supporters of the president," member of parliament Bella Kurkova said in an interview with ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing

Discusses Guatemala

LD2307132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1333 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Smelyakov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—Russia welcomed the readiness of the Guatemala leadership to look for ways of ending the prolonged armed contrapposition [as received] in the country, according to a Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"Special hope is inspired by the plans of the Guatemala administration to widely involve into negotiations the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations, as well as corresponding mechanisms of the Organisation of American States which can become efficient instruments in overcoming the crisis", Boris Kutovskiy told reporters on Friday [23 July].

Russia plans to coordinate its activities with all the interested parties in order to actively promote the elimination of the last hotbed of armed tension in Central America, he added.

Hails U.S.-North Korean Talks

LD2307140793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Smelyakov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—Boris Kustovskiy, a spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, assessed as "reassuring" the first results of the U.S.-North Korean talks in Geneva on nuclear problems.

He told a briefing on Friday [23 July] that "we welcome North Korea's readiness to hold in the near future consultations with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on guarantees, as well as to get down to negotiations with South Korea on matters of bilateral relations, including nuclear issues".

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said it was also reassuring that the U.S.-North Korean talks had created real prerequisites for a further dialogue and better relations between the United States and North Korea. "We would like to hope that North Korea will take a constructive stand at the forthcoming negotiations with the IAEA and South Korea, thereby outlining concrete ways to achieve the main goal, denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula", Kustovskiy pointed out. "In doing so, we proceed from the need for North Korea to take a final decision on remaining a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and for ensuring the continuity of IAEA guarantees", he stressed.

Commentary Views U.S.-DPRK Talks

SK2307022893 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Today's World" program]

[Text] The second round of DPRK-U.S. high-level talks were held in Geneva several days ago. Station reporter (Valeriy Kryukov) met Son Song-pil, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Russian Federation, and asked him to express his views on the results of the Geneva talks.

Ambassador Son Song-pil states: We think that, on the whole, the second round of talks were progressive and productive. Above all, the Geneva talks reconfirmed the principles of the DPRK-U.S. joint statement which was agreed upon and adopted on 11 June.

In the second round of talks, the United States confirmed that it will abide by, without fail, its commitment against the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons, against us.

The two sides discussed the matter of replacing our graphite moderated reactors with light water moderated reactors as part of a process to ultimately resolve our nuclear issue. The fact that we proposed this shows the transparency of our nuclear policy, that is, our denuclearization policy, and clearly proves that we have no intention of developing nuclear weapons, because we can hardly produce plutonium from the light water moderated reactors for the production of nuclear weapons.

The two sides confirmed that the complete and impartial application of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] safeguards is essential to accomplish a strong international nuclear non-proliferation regime. Therefore, we said we are prepared to begin consultations with the IAEA on pending issues related to nuclear safeguards and other issues. In the negotiation with the IAEA, we will discuss ways to ensure impartiality in the application of IAEA safeguards.

The two sides also reaffirmed in the talks the importance of implementing the joint declaration on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Therefore, we noted as an imminent task the need for the exchange of the special envoys of the highest level [choekowikup] of the North and the South as soon as possible. In the contact of special envoys, the two sides will discuss various issues between them, including the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. If agreement is reached on these issues, summit talks can be realized between the North and South.

Thus, in the second round of talks productive discussions and agreements were made on various issues in the work of fundamentally resolving our country's nuclear issue and of improving DPRK-U.S. relations. Hence, we regard the talks as progressive. If we fundamentally resolve the nuclear issue and (?truly) discuss the issues between our two countries and arrive at solutions, it can

lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the DPRK and the United States.

Koreans Have 'Secretly Mined' Uranium

PM2307093193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 93 First Edition p 8

[Boris Reznik report: "Koreans Dust Off Old Uranium Mine in Taiga"]

[Text] Khabarovsk Kray—The people of Khabarovsk Kray's Verkhnebureinskiy Rayon are claiming that North Korean loggers working there have unsealed uranium mine workings that had been sealed in concrete not far from the settlement. It is not known where the secretly mined raw material has been taken, but it has probably somehow been transported to the DPRK.

For understandable reasons, those who witnessed the North Korean citizens' criminal actions preferred not to give their names, but it is known that, while in the taiga, many of the people of Verkhnebureinskiy Rayon have seen Koreans bustling about around the open mine workings. Were these individual "amateurs" acting on their own initiative and at their own risk, or was the theft of raw materials being conducted on a professional footing? Did the official Korean representatives, the logging leaders, know about it? There is no answer to these questions as yet. And I think that we are unlikely to get any.

Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Human Rights Committee and the man who headed the commission which visited Verkhnebureinskiy Rayon in conjunction with a delegation from DPRK government structures in order to study the overall situation, refused to comment on the information that had been obtained. It was a familiar position—after all, even our government is unable to make its mind up about the North Korean loggers, who have been barbarically destroying the Far Eastern taiga and its flora and fauna for more than a quarter of a century.

A few days ago Khabarovsk received a curious Russian Federation Government decree ending the agreement on DPRK logging in Khabarovsk Kray and Amur Oblast as of 1 January 1994. But the same document proposes that talks be held with the Korean side on possible cooperation on a different footing. We really do not know what we are doing.

Motives of Afghan Mojahedin, Tajik Opposition Viewed

PM2207115393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 7

[Vladimir Berezovskiy report under the "Hot Spots" rubric: "For Politicians, the Death of People Is Peanuts"]

[Text] Dushanbe—It would appear that the plan of the provocative action carried out by Afghan mojahedin and Tajik opposition forces in attacking Russian border guards has come to light.

Thus a spokesman for the Afghan president has called on the world community to urgently resume humanitarian aid, the broad current of which considerably dried up following the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Kabul claims that, during the pursuit of the fleeing refugees, damage was done to dozens of villages by Russian artillery fire, hundreds of civilians were wounded, and 6,000 people left house and home.

Afghanistan, whose economy lies in ruins and where civil war continues, is on the brink of total collapse and mass starvation. Half of the population have left Kabul alone, fleeing from missile strikes, banditry, and the disruption of daily life. Most of the emigres are representatives of the middle class and the intelligentsia. The central government, torn by a power struggle and probably understanding that it is incapable of coping with its problems, has decided to pose once again as a victim in the eyes of the world community—this time the victim of the "procommunist regime" in Dushanbe and of Russia. Yet again it is seeking large-scale aid from the West, Arab countries, Japan, China, and other countries.

The Tajik opposition also had its own interests in the provocative action on the Tajik border. "The government in exile," which is entrenched in the Afghan city of Tolupane [as transliterated], loudly "announced itself" to inspire its own supporters and, second, to intimate to fundamentalists from the Muslim world that it is capable of "justifying the faith" of potential backers.

At the same time the "Moscow" card is again being played. Shadmon Yusipov, leader of the banned Democratic Party of Tajikistan, turning up in Kabul, claimed that the government in Dushanbe cannot exist without the Russian Army and that Russia is trying to revive its imperial influence in Central Asia.

It is an old tune, as the the saying goes, which has begun to grate on the nerves. Nevertheless, it continues to be music to the ears of some people in Afghanistan and a number of its "well-wishers." Evidently, this was what they were gambling on.

Meanwhile, the skirmishes and firing on Russian border guards from the direction of Afghanistan continues.

Parliament Deputies Visit Tajik-Afghan Border

PM2207145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Vorobyev report: "Flame of Conflict May Reach Russia"]

[Text] The group of Russian parliamentary deputies visiting the Tajik-Afghan border to study the circumstances of the attack on the 12th border guard detail had many pointed questions.

Why did the command, which knew in advance about the gunmen's planned action, not take preventive measures? Why was the Air Force used so late, in particular the Mi-24 combat aircraft with whose support airborne assault groups could have been transported to the detail's area? Why were there no border reinforcements?

What is to happen to the 300,000 Russian-speaking citizens living in Tajikistan? How much will it cost to move and provide installations for the new border? How would such a withdrawal affect Russia's economy? The participants in the meeting concluded that the Russian leadership has no strategic concept for actions in this region. This may have extreme consequences.

"If we try to predict how events will develop, we will see that we are threatened with a second Afghan war," Iona Andronov said. "The mojahedin will respond to attacks on their territory with fresh attacks. This will compel Russia to constantly build up its military contingents on the border—and war may become inevitable at some point."

"The situation in Tajikistan is a model for our relations with all states in Central Asia," Yevgeniy Kozhokin stressed. "If we are unable to reinforce our positions there through a constructive peaceable policy, there will be nothing for Russia to do throughout Central Asia. If we leave Tajikistan we would be acknowledging our weakness, politically as well, and people in the East do not forgive that."

"Let us recall how cautiously and thoughtfully our forebears opened up Central Asia," Vladimir Morokin said. "Russian policy is now being made by people who are not even able to distinguish between a Tajik and an Uzbek, a Kyrgyz or a Kazakh. There are 20 million Muslims living in Russia today and if we cannot maintain stability in this region, the flame of armed conflict will drive a broad wedge into Russia itself."

Summing up the results of the debate, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the International Affairs Committee, cited certain key elements in the shaping of Russia's political strategy in the region. First and foremost, it is necessary to use political means to help settle the situation in Tajikistan and pursue a flexible policy there, avoiding such extremes as the large-scale use of troops or, conversely, a definitive pullout from the country. Russia's foreign policy department must also finally organize cooperation with parliamentarians, many of whom can help the Foreign Ministry in the sphere of interstate relations. And it is of course high time that the Security Council, which has been inactive for several months now, got down to work.

Commentary Views Foreign Ministry's Afghan Policy

MK2307110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 36, 23 Jul 93 (signed to press 22 Jul) p 3

[Mastibek Davlatshoyev commentary under the "Impotence" rubric: "Russian Foreign Ministry Distances Itself From Tajik-Afghan Conflict and Advises Tajikistan Authorities on Ways of Agreeing With Armed Opposition"]

[Text] Out of all Russian Government agencies affected in some way by the worsening situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, the Foreign Ministry alone has refrained from giving it an official assessment even if by definition it is the foreign policy agency that was supposed to go into top gear. The ministry and its head keep silent, however, whereas both executive branches and the defense and security ministries have declared their stance on the attack against the Russian border guards.

The Foreign Ministry hedges by handing out commentaries by an unidentified "ranking official" wired by INTERFAX and which perhaps should be taken for the view of Foreign Ministry chiefs who are too careful to venture their views openly. The gist of these commentaries is that "it is necessary to legalize" the Tajik opposition "and let it participate in the country's public life." "Tajikistan's leaders may dig in their heels for as long as they wish and call the opposition 'bandits' and 'criminal elements,' but the fact remains: the problem could not be resolved without a dialogue," meaningfully suggests the ministry "staffer" whose recommendations are no different in this case from the maxim "it is better to be rich and healthy than poor and sick."

Indeed, a peaceful completion of the Tajik war would elate practically everyone living north of the Afghan border. The Russian diplomat's advice, however, is barren since both Tajikistan and Russia are obliged to have to deal with a side that would not accept an agreement, and which only believes in armed methods of struggle for power since it includes an extremely small number of Tajiks. This has also been proven by the short history of the Tajik Islamists, including the capture of Dushanbe last September and their fleeing afterward to inhospitable areas in the republic and in Afghanistan. The opposition knows only too well that usual political activities by civilized methods would doom them to permanent defeat in Tajikistan since the republic's people would under no circumstances go for the fundamentalist state idea. Neither would their bet on the family and clan system help—the share of the population of the mountainous areas, the home to most Islamists, is never above 5 percent of Tajikistan's total population. The only option is seizing power.

The problem of the opposition's trying to engineer another coup d'etat would simply have not existed were there not, unfortunately, a whole generation of people who grew up next door in Afghanistan to whom war is both a way of life and a source of subsistence. The

completion of the post-Soviet recarving of Afghanistan has left these people out of "work," and the chance to use their "skills" in the neighbor state are, perhaps, the only ones.

Thus, however much desired, the option to bring about the pacification of the aggressor (the armed opposition together with the mujahidin) remains strictly theory. The Foreign Ministry insists on precisely this option regardless, and all the grounds are there to think the ministry's choice quite deliberate. The Foreign Ministry's current act is a logical extension of the former ostrich- like policy in Central Asia. The ministry and Mr. Kozyrev himself are ready to react swiftly to events happening in the other hemisphere and in other parts of the world, "oblivious" to the conflicts on the territory of the former USSR. Mr. Kozyrev interrupts his vacation and flies to Singapore for an ASEAN session, rating his visit as an important element in Russia's Asia policy. The minister, however, is in no hurry to deal with conflict-torn Central Asian states whose Russian-speaking populations, incidentally, are not smaller than in the Baltics; he would rather deal with the industrial countries of Southeast Asia whose people are enjoying calm living. A paradoxical situation arises in which the defense and security ministries begin laying down Russia's policy in the Central Asian region, while the foreign minister's mission consists in paying visits of repentance to Russian-speaking populations after calm descends. That happened last spring when Mr. Kozyrev heard many unpleasant words from Russian speakers in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast (his boilerplate response was: "Russia remembers you"). This is likely to be the case this time around if the mujahidin really mount an offensive on Dushanbe. The Foreign Ministry would prefer to stay in the shade of the powerful Defense Ministry, confirming once again its preference to be active in calm and well-fed countries.

NSF Head Raps Stance on Tajik-Afghan Clashes

LD2307102993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Russian Federation People's Deputy Gennadiy Sayenko, cochairman of National Salvation Front, NSF: "Bloody Trace of Afghan Game"]

[Text] The former Soviet-Afghan border is not quiet: Shots are ringing out, villages and border posts are burning, and blood is being shed. Once again Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and other young guys from many corners of the country are dying. They are not only standing guard over Tajikistan's border, they are defending the interests of all the peoples of the quite recently mighty Soviet Union. Security is indivisible! Today there is a direct threat to Tajikistan, tomorrow to Russia itself and to any state within the CIS conceived by the treachery of the Belovezhskaya Forest creators.

So what is the significance of the conflict on the border of fraternal Tajikistan, which is far from unimportant to Russia, where are its roots, and what are its causes? It is obvious that we are continuing to reap the "abundant" fruits of the Yeltsin-Kozyrev foreign policy, which is as far removed from the interests of Russia and all the CIS countries as the sky and the earth are distant from each other. How much blood and time will it take for Soviet people to finally regain their sight and realize the depth of the abyss into which they have been plunged by the adventurist aspirations of the latter-day "democratic" plutocrats?

A little history. On 15 February 1989 the last Soviet military unit left Afghanistan. Some politicians and specialists reckoned that Najibullah's Kabul regime would not hold out even for a few weeks after the Soviet troop withdrawal, but those prophets were mistaken. The years 1989 and 1990 went by, 1991 was drawing to a close, and Kabul was still standing and the regime of people's power was growing appreciably stronger. Kabul was succeeding in controlling more and more of the country's territory. Its international positions were growing stronger, many states had begun to reckon with it, and the influence of democratic Afghanistan had grown appreciably. Soviet-Afghan relations were also continuing to develop.

All this clearly did not suit someone. It is understandable that it did not suit Washington. It is also explicable that it did not suit certain circles in Pakistan and Iran, but after August 1991 Moscow suddenly made a suspicious move. The enthroned leaders there decided to finally "surrender" the Najibullah regime and took a step incomprehensible from the viewpoint of sensible politics and, chiefly, of the Soviet Union's interests: They concluded an agreement with the United States under which all military deliveries to Kabul ceased as of 1 January 1992. Under this accord, the Soviet Union canceled military deliveries to Najibollah, and the United States to the Afghan opposition.

The absurdity and the sinister purpose of that agreement were obvious right from the start. Moscow stopped all deliveries of military gear to Kabul, including fuel, thereby placing it in a hopeless position, since no one apart from us could help it. As for the U.S. side, it was clear even then that it was practically impossible to monitor fulfillment of the aforesaid agreement to stop deliveries—it imposed no obligations on the Pakistani and Iranian sides, but it was from and through these countries that the Afghan fighting opposition was being abundantly supplied with all it needed. Thus, the Soviet-U.S. agreement was a thinly veiled sham and a cover for betrayal.

A little while later, as intended, the Najibollah regime found itself without ammunition and fuel and without everything that was extremely necessary to the armed forces, and it was soon forced to throw itself upon the

mercy of the opposing mojahedin groupings. The predicted "bloodbath" ensued, with unconcealed extermination of Najibollah's supporters and a surge of military operations throughout the country's territory. The Soviet presence in Kabul was physically eliminated, and the buildings of our establishments, including the Soviet Embassy, were looted and destroyed. There were casualties among staffers of Russian establishments in Kabul. A large group of airmen was decorated for the evacuation of our personnel, which resembled a flight, for there was no other way out. I do not doubt their brave conduct for one second, for one aircraft was destroyed actually at Kabul Airport.

A regime overtly dominated by Islamic fundamentalism has become established in Afghanistan—as so greatly feared not only by the Soviet Union and, in particular, by the former Soviet Central Asian republics, but also by Washington itself. The latter, however, was encouraging all this, because it was far more important to it to resolve the strategic task of eliminating or reducing to zero the Soviet influence in Afghanistan and channeling the aspirations of Islamic fundamentalism toward the north. This is what happened.

Let us recall A. Kozyrev's statements in late 1991 and early 1992, particularly during his visit to Kabul, to the effect that a new era in relations between Moscow and Kabul had come about thanks to the elimination of totalitarian regimes and that the Soviet invasion had been the cause of the many misfortunes which had befallen the Afghan people in recent years.

Now a new Kozyrev era has arrived. The blood of our border guards and of peaceful Tajik inhabitants is being shed. The quiet border has become a hotbed of combat operations. I am afraid that this is just the beginning. Well, such are the fruits of Kozyrev's foreign policy, if you can call it a policy. This policy completely forgets about our interests and disregards the security not only of Tajikistan but also of Russia. The tragedy lies in the fact that the present leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is obviously incapable of learning anything or drawing lessons and conclusions for a single simple reason: It adheres to positions which are alien to Moscow's interests. Certain Russian figures have gone too far in their political game and, in order to save face, they are trying to be more Catholic than the pope. Washington has only to display an initiative, and Kozyrev hastens to approve it, at the same time disregarding the stupid position in which we find ourselves when the U.S. capital suddenly changes its viewpoint.

Our poor "democratic" television people do not know how to show and explain the situation which has arisen on the Tajik-Afghan border. They assiduously avoid the causes which gave rise to it and confine themselves just to an account of the facts, but there is no getting away from history. Sooner or later the truth will have to be told.

The attempt to make out that it is not the Kabul official authorities that are to blame for the provocations on the border with Tajikistan but just extremist mojahedin groupings under nobody's control does not stand up to criticism. Of course, Afghanistan has its special features. Historically Kabul has never governed the whole country unconditionally. The Afghan capital even had a certain dependence on some provinces. But as regards neighboring states, Kabul has had a hand in events. In the case of Tajikistan data have been received on the direct involvement of servicemen of the Afghan regular army in combat operations. Why then vindicate Kabul? Is this once again an ostrich-like policy?

The conclusion is confirmed once again: We do not have a foreign policy as a scientifically substantiated course which accords with the present and long-term interests of Russia and the other fraternal peoples of the former Soviet Union. Naturally, we also do not have a policy on Afghanistan. Defense Minister Grachev's impulsive statements that we "will not tolerate," we "will show," we "will not leave unanswered," etc. are merely phrases which we have heard repeatedly in many, many connections. A weakening Russia will bandy about more and more such phrases as it increasingly gets into an unsavory position itself. What can we really do, what must we undertake in a specific situation, which policy must we pursue? These are questions which must be answered by the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies, which are empowered under the constitution and are responsible for formulating and deciding foreign policy.

G. Popov and similar democratic figures have proposed a withdrawal of Russian troops from Tajikistan, prompting fears of a second Afghanistan. In short, this is another attempt to surrender further positions—a familiar motif, but then it is not hard to imagine the possible subsequent development of events. Islamic fundamentalists could invade Tajikistan, and a full-scale civil war will begin there with unpredictable consequences. The fire-spitting border will move really close toward Russia itself, not to mention the highly dangerous position in which other Central Asian states will find themselves. This is something to think about...

Black Sea Fleet Officers Urge Decision on Servicemen's Status

PM2207203593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

["Own Information" report under "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "Sailors Do Not Know Their Status"]

[Text] An officers assembly of the Black Sea Fleet Combat and Moral and Psychological Training Directorate has adopted a decision to appeal to the Russian Ministry of Defense through the Black Sea Fleet Command, requesting it to resolve more quickly the question

of extending the status of Russian Federation servicemen to the Black Sea Fleet's servicemen.

The Press Center of the Black Sea Fleet explained this decision by the fact that the officers consider that it is practically impossible to divide up the fleet and, in particular, its infrastructure.

The officers assembly demanded that the Sevastopol city administration investigate and punish those members of the city's Special-Purpose Militia Detachment guilty of beating three Black Sea Fleet officers during the city assembly 16 July.

The situation in Sevastopol is calm for the most part. The city is preparing for the great festival which takes place next Sunday on Navy Day. Performers from various Russian cities and guests from abroad will take part in it. A full-scale rehearsal for the festival is being held today.

Chernomyrdin Signs Decision on Gas Supplies for Ukraine

LD2307095293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0811 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a decision of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers "On Measures to Provide Supplies of Natural Gas to Ukraine", which establishes that the gas supplies provided by the "Gazprom" joint-stock company are taken into consideration as part of the volumes of supplies for export for federal state needs.

It is also established by the decision that the rate of export duties per 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas delivered by "Gazprom" to Ukraine is 3,000 rubles for the third quarter of 1993, 4,500 rubles in October and November, and 6,000 rubles from 1 December, 1993.

Border Closure Issue Raised at Sochi Meeting

LD2207230993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1812 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi July 22 TASS—Matters aimed at enhancing the border guarding regime between Russia and Georgia and at building border picket facilities was discussed on Thursday at a meeting in the office of Sochi administration chief Nikolay Karpov.

"It is a question of rigidly closing the borders with Georgia and Azerbaijan," Viktor Zemtsov, commander of the North Caucasian Border Military District, emphasised at the meeting.

In view of this, he said, the process of withdrawal of Russian troops (including border guards) from the above-mentioned republics will be expedited. Border troops being withdrawn from Georgia and Azerbaijan are now being accommodated in Karachayevo-Cherkessya, Kabardino-Balkaria, North Ossetia, Stavropol and Krasnodar territories.

Zemtsov informed those present at the meeting that the government of Russia had assigned large currency funds for the provision of facilities for border guards at their new stations. The construction of the first military township has already been started at Temryuk to accommodate the Ochamchira brigade of sea border guards.

The Sukhumi border detachment is being transferred to Sochi, Zemtsov said. A site is being selected in the health resort city for the construction of a township to accommodate 800 families of border guards.

The military construction unit of the North Caucasian border district is also being transferred to Sochi. The unit will soon begin to build a road to Aybga village. Besides, an additional contingent of border guards is being brought to Sochi to reinforce the customs and border-guarding personnel at the airport.

Servicemen's Families Escape From Georgia Via Belarus

PM2207140393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Pavel Chernenko report under the "From Our Newsdesk" rubric: "Russian Servicemen's Families Leave Georgia"]

[Text] Minsk—A military transport aircraft that landed at an airfield in Machulishche near Minsk brought members of Russian Army servicemen's families who are entitled to Belarusian citizenship out of Georgia.

According to Major Oleg Semeykin, the aircraft's commander, there were 50 people on board. They included Russian Federation citizens. They took advantage of the opportunity to leave Georgia, since it has not been admitting Russian aircraft lately.

U.S. Representatives Appraise Regiment in North Caucasus

LD2307112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0917 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaisky]

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—Representatives from U.S. armed forces appraised information on Thursday [22 July] on combat capability of the 255th motorised regiment in the North-Caucasian military district.

ITAR-TASS learnt at the press centre of the Russian Defence Ministry that the appraisal of the information on the combat capability of the regiment, the headquarters of which is situated in Volgograd, was conducted at the written request of the U.S. Administration to the Russian Government of July 14, 1993, in compliance

with provisions of the 1992 Vienna document of the talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe.

'Mutual Understanding' in Ambassador's Talks With Aliyev

LD2307090193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Sokhbet Mamedov report: "CSCE To Discuss Plan To Settle Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict"]

[Excerpt] The CSCE forum which will address the question of implementing the UN Security Council resolution and the CSCE plan for settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict opened in the Italian capital 22 July.

On the eve of the meeting the countries taking part in the conference reviewed their positions in the light of the changes that have taken place in the region over the past few days. This probably explains the one-day visit to Baku by Ambassador at Large Vladimir Kazimirov, the leader of Russia's mediation mission to settle the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

In conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Vladimir Nikolayevich said that the aim of his brief visit to Baku was to familiarize himself with the new Azerbaijani leadership and hold consultations ahead of the Rome meeting.

But from the very beginning of the talks between G. Aliyev, acting Azerbaijani president and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and V. Kazimirov it transpired that the meeting should not be described as a get-to-know-you session. The sides noted that they had spent some time working together in the past. Clearly, for this reason the current meeting was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Geydar Aliyev again expressed his dissatisfaction with the results of the Minsk CSCE conference and reaffirmed Azerbaijan's desire to solve the problem by means of peace talks.

Vladimir Kazimirov, in his turn, stressed that enough blood has been spilled, and the time has come to put a stop to this senseless war. [passage omitted]

Accord on Intelligence Cooperation Signed With Uzbekistan

LD2307110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0935 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By Valeriy Litvinenko, KRIM-PRESS]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—An accord on cooperation in the sphere of intelligence activity between Russia and Uzbekistan was signed in Moscow on Thursday. The accord expresses interest in implementing mutually beneficial cooperation to ensure security and protection of political, economic, ecological and defense interests of Russia and Uzbekistan, a KRIM-PRESS correspondent was told at the press-bureau of the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence service. The document stresses specifically that the sides will be guided by the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Kozyrev Concludes Malaysia Visit, Heads to Singapore

Talks With Foreign Minister Highlighted

LD2207184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1538 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Georgiy Shmelyov and Aleksandr Bokhonko]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur July 22 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev concluded his first official visit to Malaysia. A broad range of questions of the development of bilateral cooperation, as well as topical regional and international problems, were discussed by the Russian foreign minister and his Malaysian counterpart Abdullah Ahmad Badawi during Kozyrev's one-day stay in Kuala Lumpur.

The settlement of the situation in former Yugoslavia was given priority at the negotiations, ITAR-TASS was told by Galina Sidorova, political counsellor of the Russian foreign minister. The sides have achieved understanding about the need to widen security zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Malaysia believes Russia should play a more interested role in dealing with this acute problem, Sidorova said. The sides decided to do their utmost towards a ceasefire in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The ministers discussed in detail the situation regarding Cambodia and noted their similar approach and even identity of views in assessing the United Nations role in Cambodia. Kozyrev and Badawi spoke optimistically about Cambodia's future.

The Malaysian side expressed its readiness and intention to support the idea of Russia's cooperation with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an equal partner in a dialogue. Badawi said Kozyrev's visit is an initial step on the long road of the two countries for the development of friendly cooperation.

Kozyrev confirmed an invitation to Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed to pay an official visit to Russia. The date of the visit will be fixed upon through diplomatic channels.

The Russian foreign minister had on Thursday a conversation with Malaysian Defence Minister Mohammad Najib Abdul Razak. Prospects for military-technical cooperation between the two countries were discussed. "The results of the conversation are quite encouraging", Sidorova said. Negotiations about the purchase by Malaysia of a consignment of MiG-29 aircraft will be continued in August.

Discusses Troops for Bosnia

LD2207183393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Russia's foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, has voiced Russia's readiness to offer transport planes to deliver United Nations peace-making forces from Muslim countries to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Seven countries of the Islamic Conference Organization have suggested sending 17,000 men in response to a request from the United Nations leader Butrus-Ghali.

A joint communique on the talks in Kuala Lumpur between Andrey Kozyrev and the Malaysian defense minister, Najib Razak, says that troops should be sent in full compliance with the United Nations mandate.

Andrey Kozyrev made a stopover in the Malaysian capital on his way to an ASEAN conference in Singapore.

Comments on Agreement With India

LD2307045893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] The alteration of the Russian-Indian agreement on supplies of cryogenic engines and relevant technologies cannot affect relations between the two countries. The opinion was expressed by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on the way from Kuala Lumpur to Singapore. According to the minister, the agreement was signed in 1989, at the time when the USSR was trying to resolve internal problems by exporting military technologies. Andrey Kozyrev noted that export of military technologies should not break the nuclear balance.

Decision To Freeze Engine Deliveries to India Viewed

MK2307084693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Natalya Kalashnikova report: "Parliament on Rocket Technology Export. The Supreme Soviet Moves To Play the "India Card"]

[Text] The Russian Government's decision to freeze deliveries to India of Russian cryogenic engines and technological procedures for their manufacture has provoked a rather mixed reaction. On 19 July, India's Foreign Ministry circulated a statement saying, among other things, that should the terms of the contract be violated, Delhi "intends to achieve self-sufficiency in the high-tech area." In his turn, Glavkosmos chief Aleksandr Dunayev declared yesterday that despite the decision to freeze the deal, deliveries under the contract would proceed at full scale. As for the Russian parliament, it successfully played the "India card" in a bid to take over control of the entire foreign economic operations of the Russian Government. All treaties and agreements affected by the rocket technology control rules to which Russia is party, shall now be subject to parliament ratification under the Supreme Soviet decision adopted Wednesday night.

The parliamentarians asked the commission of the Soviet of the Republic, the International Affairs Committee, a group of deputies that monitors Russia's military-technology cooperation with other countries, to hold parliamentary hearings on the terms of Russia's accession to the rules of control over rocket technology. Russia will unilaterally start to observe the rules of control as of 1 November in line with the results of the Russian-American consultations that ended last week.

In the words of People's Deputy Aleksandr Dzasokhov, the enlarged session of the International Affairs Committee held on Wednesday decided to launch hearings soon on the Russian-Indian deal. He also advised that there were several "corresponding agreements" that fall under the ratification ruling. Observers point out that the Supreme Soviet decision on questions of rocket technology export is yet another attempt to secure the right to keep tabs on all credit and export-import operations carried out by the Russian Government. The first such attempt was made in regard to Russia's obtaining of G-7 credits, and coincided with Boris Yeltsin's Tokyo summit visit.

It looks like that only the Russian parliament stands to gain from the freeze on the Russian-Indian deal. Russian rocket technology manufacturers will sustain considerable losses (up to $400 million) which the United States is not going to offset. India is going to produce the high-tech items on its own anyway, and this is precisely what Washington feared as it pressed for the contract's recision.

U.S. 'Hypocritical' in Nonproliferation Issues

PM2307095593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 3

[Manki Ponomarev report: "Washington: Playing by the Rules Or Playing Without Rules"]

[Text] The U.S. weekly DEFENSE NEWS recently reported that the United States and Israel have officially started implementing a joint program to seek the most effective means of combating Scud ballistic missiles, and Washington has pledged to pay 75 percent of the upcoming expenditure. It is a question of developing systems that could intercept tactical (using U.S. terminology) ballistic missiles at the start of their trajectory, when they are particularly vulnerable. In particular, the intention is to use lasers, kinetic weapons, and high-yield weapons deployed on manned and unmanned aircraft for this purpose.

This is by no means the only program for systems to combat enemy missiles that these two countries are developing together. Work is continuing on the Israeli Chetz (Arrow) antimissile missile, which is also almost 75 percent U.S.-funded. Moreover, misgivings are even

being voiced in the Pentagon at the fact that the implementation of all these projects does not fit in with officially proclaimed policy. And Democratic Senator Robert Byrd says that there are "serious omissions" as regards controls over the U.S. technology used in developing the Israeli antimissile missile. Nevertheless, the work is continuing.

But the following question arises: How does all this square with Washington's bombastic statements regarding its commitment to the international regime for the nonproliferation of missile technologies and its demands for Russia and a number of other countries to unswervingly comply with this regime? After all, having at least managed to secure a "freeze" on the Russian-Indian contract for the supply of cryogenic engines, the United States now intends to threaten China with sanctions since the latter is supposedly shipping missiles and missile technologies abroad.

Yet it in fact transpires that last year the Washington administration published a list of the world's most dangerous missile projects so as to ensure that U.S. firms do not take part in them. And it excluded from this list a number of Israeli, Argentine, and certain other projects. That means that U.S. firms can continue selling missile equipment and technologies to a number of countries, including for the development of the powerful Israeli Jericho-2 missile.

All this once again illustrates the hypocritical nature of the U.S. "concern" about the nonproliferation of missile technologies. The United States itself sets the rules of play in this sphere and violates them without a twinge of conscience.

Those were the thoughts prompted by the DEFENSE NEWS report.

Chinese Trade Exhibition Opens in Moscow

PM2207142193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Yuriy Savenkov report: "Mr. Zhou's Three Pieces of Advice for Our Entrepreneurs"]

[Text] An exhibition of Chinese goods—quality goods, according to its organizers—has opened in Moscow.

Piece of advice number one. Find a large or medium-sized company with "All-China" or "Provincial" in its name as a partner. They are more reliable.

Piece of advice number two. If you want to buy silk, say, do not rush to the first middleman. Find a specialized firm which has been exporting silk for many years.

Piece of advice number three. Strive for quality from your partner, reject shoddy work, and you will be respected and offered good-quality merchandise.

That was how Zhou Zhilin, head of the delegation at the sales exhibition of Chinese exports that has opened at the All-Russia Exhibition Center in Moscow, formulated his view of Russo-Chinese trade in conversation with me. There are 66 firms from many Chinese provinces represented at the exhibition. The exhibits include furs, leather goods, footwear, carpets, consumer electronics, tea, and peanuts. But, in Zhou's opinion, the main trump card is clothing. After all, the organizers want to restore China's reputation in the Russian market, and clothing is a Chinese export speciality. It accounts for 30 percent of China's trade with Japan, and the Japanese are noting the clear improvement in quality as a result of intensive foreign investment and the introduction of new technology.

But in our country goods marked "Made in China" do not enjoy a very high reputation. And, against the favorable backdrop of the growth in foreign economic ties between the two countries (trade turnover reached the record level of $5.86 billion last year and is continuing to grow this year), the sensitive Chinese have noticed a falling trend in demand for their goods in the boundless expanses of Russia. Yet Russia, according to Beijing's figures, has become China's fifth-largest trading partner—although admittedly a very long way behind the leaders (Hong Kong, Japan, the United States, and Germany) in both volume and quality. Incidentally, the level of our ties does not match our capabilities. Barter shuttles (mattresses coming here, Pekingese dogs going there) do not exhaust our potential. We need a more substantial mechanism for civilized ties, Zhou Zhilin believes.

Despite the fact that in the multilayered structure of Chinese foreign trade organizations state companies are more experienced and professional, a flexible approach should clearly be adopted toward Zhou's advice to seek partners among them—he could have a departmental interest in saying so. After all, many foreign firms often prefer to deal with private operators in China because it means less bureaucracy.

As for the call to be more discriminating, Zhou has hit the nail on the head in that respect. "My commercial sense is at a neanderthal level," a passing Russian businessman told me at a Harbin exhibition. This quality is typical of many new entrepreneurs, who expect to earn profits overnight while forgetting about quality. The exhibition organizers believe that this is something that should not be forgotten.

Chinese Statement on Ship Incidents Viewed

PM2307083193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Own correspondent Andrey Krushinskiy report: "According to the Law or 'According to Unwritten Rules.' Incidents Involving Russian Ships Off the Shores of the PRC"]

[Text] Beijing, 21 Jul—At long last Beijing has given its official assessment of the series of incidents involving Russian ships off the shores of China, set out in RENMIN RIBAO.

The series, as a senior spokesman for the competent Chinese organs reported, was begun by the arrest of the Vasiliy Vereshchagin 11 February this year by judicial organs in the port of Qingdao in connection with a suit regarding the default on debt payments by the shipowner—a Russian-Chinese joint venture. On 14 May the crew of the Vasiliy Vereshchagin on their own volition, without permission from the local authorities, upped anchor and left the Chinese port.

On 18 March the Sibirsk-2114 ran into a crambe plantation belonging to a Chinese company, which brought a suit. As in the first case, the Qingdao court again arrested the ship, instructing its owners to pay compensation for the damage. Since the offending ship did not present the necessary guarantees within the period prescribed by law, it was... auctioned off on 15 June.

A week before that, 9 June, the Chinese coast guard, seeking smugglers, came across the Russian ship Soyuz-4, which was escorted into port and allowed to go on its way only after three days. Finally, in approximately the same latitudes the Valeriy Volkov was stopped and inspected on 7 July.

The spokesman for the competent Chinese organs described the local organs' actions in incidents number three and four as a violation of government guidelines and of the relevant international laws on navigation on the high seas.

However, suspicions creep in: Wasn't it because of the flight of the Vasiliy Vereshchagin that the Sibirsk was auctioned off, and was it not in a quest for justification for the groundless detention of the Soyuz that customs officials inspected the Valeriy Volkov on the high seas. It didn't work out "according to the law," so let's judge "according to unwritten rules"!

However, appeals "to unwritten rules" can only complicate everything. For instance, I heard one of our consular officials say recently that he had been able to settle various conflicts thanks to "good relations" with the local authorities. For instance, he had even been able to help one of our sailors who had been picked up by the police for rape. Another told how a Chinese fishing vessel liable to be auctioned off for poaching in our waters had been helped thanks to intervention by our diplomats. "But they didn't act 'according to the unwritten rules' with the Sibirsk," he complained.

I must admit, I did not feel happy at the escape of either "our" rapist or "their" poachers. I think it would be best for Russian-Chinese good-neighborly cooperation and for our reviving friendship if conflicts were resolved not by means of unwritten rules, but according to the law.

Japan Believes MiG-23's Withdrawn From Kurils

PM2207142993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 7

[ITAR-TASS report: "MiG's Withdrawn From South Kurils, Japanese Believe"]

[Text] Japan's Defense Agency believes the likelihood that all Russian combat aircraft have been withdrawn from the South Kurils by now in line with the plan for the gradual demilitarization of this region announced earlier by Moscow to be "extremely high."

Since the end of May the Japanese side has recorded no flights by the MiG-23's which were formerly stationed on the island of Iturup in the South Kurils. In the opinion of military circles, NHK reports, not only these planes, but also all airdrome equipment, have now been withdrawn from the island.

Grachev Meets With Spanish Defense Minister

LD2307005693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev stated today that Kiev's decision regarding the status of the nuclear technological facilities on its territory means, to all intents and purposes, the inclusion of Ukraine among the world's nuclear powers. In this connection, Grachev expressed doubts about the capability of Ukraine's military to independently organize the control of nuclear weapons.

[Correspondent Aleksandr Ostrovskiy] In Moscow today, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev received Spanish Defense Minister Julian Vargas. The defense ministers discussed problems connected with the nuclear weapons in the territory of Ukraine and Kazakhstan and the situations in the Transcaucasus, Tajikistan, and Yugoslavia.

The Spanish defense minister devoted much of the conversation to the present status of the NATO bloc, which, under the UN's aegis, is more and more playing a peacekeeping role. Although, despite its difficult economic situation, Russia is perhaps paying even greater attention to peacekeeping in Europe and Asia. The Russian defense minister emphasized that the forms of this peacekeeping can be quite varied. The Russian armed forces have already proven their potential to avert or neutralize local conflicts. It is for this reason that Armenia's leadership has also been requesting the formation in its territory of two Russian military bases. Armenia will undertake to pay for the upkeep of these subunits itself.

Zorkin, UK Ambassador Discuss Draft Constitution

LD2207115593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1138 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—"Participating in the Constitutional Assembly, which I considered as a form of a round-table discussion, as a lawyer I was not against working out a version of the fundamental law," Russian Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin said.

Speaking at a meeting with British Ambassador to Russia Brian Fall in Moscow on Thursday, Zorkin said he supported "The efforts by the participants seeking to create a presidential law-governed republic balanced by a strong parliament and an independent judicial power. The draft (new constitution) prepared by the Constitutional Assembly is an attempt aimed at realising the principles of human rights, separation of powers and a federative state."

The text approved by the assembly can be further developed and improved. There is an imbalance in the implementation of the principle of power division in Russia which contradicts the experience of other presidential republics where the parliament controls the appointment of ministers, Zorkin said.

Of special concern is the fate of democracy in Russia and the provisions included in the draft which allow the president to disband the legislature. In classical presidential republics like the United States the presidents do not have such powers. This is a key constitutional question. There are certain contradictions in the section dealing with human rights. Social welfare guarantees also need specification. Relations between the federal centre and regions also remain a major stumbling block, the chief justice added.

"The fate of the constitution and of Russia itself is being decided not so much in the centre as in republics and regions which know the difference between ever-lasting values of real life and a new ideological campaign," Zorkin stressed.

Russia Reduces, West Builds Up Arms Exports in 1992

PM2207140193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Ravil Mustafin report: "Moscow Has Vastly Reduced Arms Exports. West Has Increased Them"]

[Text] Russian arms exports to third world countries have been reduced by a factor of more than 4.5, from $5.9 billion to $1.3 billion, in the year 1992. This is mentioned in a U.S. Congressional Research Service report sent this week for scrutiny to the houses of the U.S. supreme legislative body. It appears that Russia has again come out ahead of everyone else on the planet in the rates by which it is reducing its arms trade. It has it own reasons for doing this, both objective and subjective. But here is something which is interesting.

While Russia (whether it liked it or not) was reducing its military exports, our new Western partners were acting like hungry wolves and attempting to take advantage of the propitious situation in the world arms market and snatch as many rich pickings as they could. Putting aside all discussions about the morality of trading in arms, they not only consolidated their positions in existing arms markets but opened up new ones.

France has been particularly successful in this and has come out in second place in the list of arms exporters. Last year it made a total of $3.8 billion out of its military output, which is $1 billion more than in 1991. The British, who likewise increased their volumes of military sales to $2.4 billion, moved up into third place. But it is the United States which is confidently holding onto the first place among arms dealers for the third year running now. In 1992 it sold $13.6 billion worth of arms.

The Near East remains the most promising arms market and Saudi Arabia is the largest purchaser of arms. Over the period 1989-1991 this kingdom acquired arms to the value of $35.9 billion, which accounts for about 30 percent of all arms sold to the third world.

Incidentally, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously to abolish restrictions on U.S. arms deliveries to Taiwan. According to news agency reports, the U.S. Department of State objected to this decision fearing a negative reaction from Beijing. But the U.S. legislators have strong nerves. You cannot frighten them with any threats, especially if it is a question of the country's interests. All the more so when we are talking about providing the population with employment and earning profits from arms exports.

Political Issues

Procuracy Investigates 'Berlin House Case'

Poltoranin's Office May Be Searched

LD2207114593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Boris Isayenko, chief investigator of particularly grave cases at the Russian procurator-general's office, told ITAR-TASS today he did not rule out the possibility of a search being made in the office of Mikhail Poltoranin, the head of the Federal Information Centre of the Russian Federation.

The investigator arrived at the Federal Information Centre "to have a conversation and then, probably, conduct a search depending on the results of the conversation".

Isayenko explained that his concern was with the "Berlin House case" related to the allegedly unlawful transfer of the building of the former Russian science and technology centre in the German capital to the Federal Information Centre.

Poltoranin Has 'Nothing To Hide'

LD2207134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1253 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul—Mikhail Poltoranin, who arrived at the Federal Information Center just after 1400, said that he "learned from a telephone call from my secretary, who had been given the search warrant," that a search was possible.

Asked whether he knew what it was connected with, Mikhail Poltoranin declared: "Probably the official version is that it is connected with the 'Berlin house.' However, I think that they want to find other documents."

Poltoranin said that when he spoke on television yesterday he said that he had documents concerning the mafia. "I do have them, but not here," he said. He believes that it is these documents that the procurators office is looking for, because the Berlin house case is "clean."

In his words, the criminal "should be sought in other offices." "We have made every effort to keep the property under the jurisdiction of Russia," he stressed.

Mikhail Poltoranin believes that the procuracy is seeking "what is not in Rutskoy's suitcases." He added that the documents he has will be made public in a few days time.

The procuracy representatives, of whom there were six, demanded that their conversation with Mikhail Poltoranin be confidential, and reiterated that "the question of whether a search will be carried out or not depends on the result of this meeting." To this, Mikhail Poltoranin remarked: "I have nothing to hide," promising to give an interview to the assembled journalists after this "visit" was over.

Deputies Cited on Search

LD2207170193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1456 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul—"Negotiations" between Mikhail Poltoranin and a representative of the procurator have been going on for more than two hours. According to Bella Kurkova, people's deputy of the Russian Federation and chairman of the "Channel Five Petersburg" TV and radio company, who together with a group of other people's deputies refused to leave the office, the conversation is taking place in the lounge area.

Bella Kurkova told journalists that she refused to be a witness [to the search]. In her words, there were nine procuracy employees. She also said that they brought large bags with them, "evidently planning to make significant confiscations."

In her [Kurkova's] opinion, what is taking place is none other than a "warning strike" following the appearance of new documents concerning the "Berlin House." These documents show that "the main guilty parties are not Poltoranin and Shumeyko, but others." Bella Kurkova said that she had told Sergey Filatov, head of the Presidential Administration, about what was happening by telephone, and asked him to inform the president of the Russian Federation.

Russian People's Deputy Igor Bezrukov, to whom Mikhail Poltoranin has entrusted his legal defense, gave a juridical commentary to journalists. He called the conversation that is taking place "interrogation of a witness." He explained that the basis for holding a search, "according to Article 14 of the Criminal Procedure Code, is information available to the investigation that in some building or on some person there are documents relevant to the case. Until the decision is made on initiating criminal proceedings no investigative action can be taken, and that includes a search."

He [Bezrukov] also emphasized that various people may be present during the search. The investigator does not have the right to remove people present at the time of the search in the building where it is taking place, even if he considers that they may obstruct the search. He does, however, have the right to forbid these people to leave the building or converse with one another. He pointed out that it is particularly important that the aim of the search can only be to look for the documents that are relevant to the specific case. Apart from that, Igor

Bezrukov said, according to the law, prior to making the search the investigator must request a voluntary surrender of what he is looking for.

Poltoranin Hands Over Documents

LD2207200793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1810 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Russian Federal Information Centre, described the events at the centre on Thursday [22 July] as an "effort at intimidation". A group of prosecutors arrived there at midday. It was headed by Boris Isayenko, senior investigator for cases of special importance at the Russian prosecutor-general. They produced to Poltoranin's secretary a warrant for a search of his office. Poltoranin arrived at the centre several minutes past two P.M. His confidential conversation with prosecutors lasted for over three hours.

At the end of the working day, prosecutors left Poltoranin's office. Poltoranin told reporters that the conversation cannot be regarded as an interrogation. No direct or indirect charged were produced. He handed over to investigators the originals of the documents showing that the house of science and technology in Berlin is a property of the USSR, and recordings from the land register that the house remains the Russian property and that the German side has no opportunity to take any step without Russia's consent regarding the house, a number of other documents, and comments of the German press.

However, this was summed up in a protocol of a search, in which it was said that Poltoranin voluntarily surrendered documents. The search in itself has not taken place.

Poltoranin told reporters that he had never made a secret out of these documents and that their transfer could have taken place in a more civilised way. Noting that the investigators behaved civilly, Poltoranin said that they are not quite well acquainted with the history of the case of the "Berlin House".

Poltoranin said that he does not rule out that the plans of investigators may have been adjusted because of the presence of a large number of reporters. He also admitted he had been perplexed by such outrageous methods of political struggle. He believes this was a response to the fact that he had managed to obtain information about the mafia.

Poltoranin believes that this step, just as Rutskoy's travel and decisions of the parliament on privatisation, television, the Chkalov airfield and the number of others, was taken at a time when the president is on leave. He said this incident may be regarded as an effort to develop mechanisms of war that was launched in parliament by first deputy prosecutor-general of the Russian Federation Nikolay Makarov.

He also said that lawsuits for defamation will be brought against Rutskoy, Makarov, Stepankov, the parliament and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. However, the court does not institute proceedings as long as the investigation is being conducted. Poltoranin is determined to demand for the defamation 40 million roubles from Aleksandr Rutskoy, 100 million roubles from parliament and 200 million roubles from Nikolay Makarov.

Poltoranin said that prosecutors have undertaken a hopeless case and said he intends to bring this of the knowledge of the president.

At a request from ITAR-TASS, chief of the presidential administration Sergey Filatov commented on this in the following way: "By all indications, this was an action planned by parliament with the only aim of bringing about new upheavals in the country."

Shumeyko Comments on 'Political Provocation'

LD2307103893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Studio interview with Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister, by Igor Vykhukholev; date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Vykhukholev] Vladimir Filipovich, only recently Deputy Procurator General Makarov accused you, the first deputy prime minister, and Mikhail Poltoranin of corruption and requested that you be removed from your posts. As you probably know already, some sort of a search was carried out in Poltoranin's office today. How would you comment on this event?

[Shumeyko] I know that Mikhail Nikoforovich [Poltoranin] had his office searched. You know, I thought that this dirty political provocation which heads of the procuracy regrettably initiated with the help of the Supreme Soviet leadership had already ended somehow. Makarov has already spoken and expressed his opinions. These allegations are completely groundless. No one is trying to hide anything. This incident of carrying out a search without formally charging a person is totally unprecedented. Since our names were mentioned together in the Supreme Soviet, I would not be surprised if literally tomorrow or in the next few days there were some provocation against me as well.

I have on several occasions stated that I shall appeal to the court against Rutskoy and Makarov who made gross allegations of corruption—and this was not just against me personally, or against Poltoranin, but actually against the government as a whole, against the very course taken by the president—trying to prove that the president is surrounded by totally corrupt individuals and thus leading people toward negative conclusions about our leadership and its course.

After today's incident I have decided that tomorrow I shall take this matter to court. I want a court hearing, because only a court can establish who is guilty. I shall

submit all the evidence at our disposal, together with my petition. Let the court then decide. After the trial everyone will know who is right and who is wrong.

[Vykhuklholev] I can imagine how all this interferes with your work, especially since lately everyone has been accusing the government of being engaged in politics and having no time to do its job of improving the economy.

[Shumeyko] You know, this is not true. First of all, the government is a very large body. There are 40 ministers and chairmen of state committees here in Moscow alone, there are 22 heads of ministries and departments of the republics—members of the Russian Federation—who are engaged in everyday work on the economy. Regarding the presidium—and we are forced to be engaged in politics, there is no escape from it, after all, the government is a political body—today, for example, we had a sitting of the presidium from 1000 till 1800. We had to discuss extremely important questions: draft law on subsistence level, bread prices, grain prices, food deliveries to Moscow. It was a very tiring discussion. Just as I was returning, I learned about Poltoranin's office being searched—of course, one does not feel happy about all these events. But one should not give in to provocations, our case is just, our course is known to everyone, we do not make secrets of what the government is doing and how. I will repeat that we shall never give in to provocations. Let the court decide and everything will then become clear.

[Vykhukholev] Thank you.

Conscience 'Absolutely Clear'

LD2307125993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] As we have already reported, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet today granted a request by Valentin Stepankov, Russian procurator general, to institute criminal proceedings against Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister and former deputy of the Russian Federation. I will recall that yesterday procuracy staff attempted to search Mikhail Poltoranin's office. Vladimir Shumeyko commented on the situation that has arisen in an exclusive interview with our correspondent Anton Grishin.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] All these events are the links of the same chain, all that. It is a political show with political goals. I understand them and people understand them as well as those who implement them. But if they say A, they should say B. After all, they are most keen to prove that I must not work here, with the president, that I am a thief, and so on. Well, since my conscience is absolutely clear and I know that I have not committed anything that would make Russia lose even a ruble, I feel absolutely at peace with myself. [end recording]

Shumeyko Absent From Labor Relations Meeting

LD2307140993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Summer holidays and urgent business trips have taken a toll on the work of the Russian tripartite commission for settling social and labor relations. Today the commission gathered for its regular sitting far from full. Its coordinator, Vladimir Shumeyko, was absent. The session at Staraya Ploshchad in Moscow was speedily transformed into a conference so as not to violate the schedule for the commission's work for the second half of this year. The conference did not have powers to adopt any decisions and it limited itself to assessing topical problems which are mainly of a financial nature.

'Democratic Russia' Urges Yeltsin To Return to Moscow

LD2307124593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1155 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—The "Democratic Russia" movement urged President Boris Yeltsin to suspend holidays and return to Moscow because the emerging situation tantamounts to a constitutional coup.

Co-chairs of the movement Lev Ponomaryov and Ilya Zaslavskiy told reporters on Friday [23 July] that the situation appeared because the parliament made another attack on the course of reforms and the prime minister solidarised with it.

The parliament has recently adopted a number of laws which, according to Zaslavskiy, changed the situation so much that "now we are in another country". He cited the legislative blow on privatisation as an example.

"Formally the talk is about a constitutional coup", he said, adding that the parliamentary decisions pose a threat to economic reform.

"We see tendencies in the government aimed against the policy of the president. The government is split, there is an anti-reform wing in it", Ponomaryov said, adding that Viktor Chernomyrdin has solidarised with the policy of Ruslan Khasbulatov. The government was split, according to him, by the parliament leadership and the vice-president who actively works against the policy of Yeltsin.

The "Democratic Russia" is also worried by mounting actions against Yeltsin's allies, such as the Thursday search of the office of Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Centre, and the stripping of Vladimir Shumeyko, the first deputy prime minister, of his parliamentary immunity.

"It is completely inadmissible that the president continues vacation during such developments. The tense situation demands his immediate return to Moscow", Ponomaryov said.

Konstantin Truevtsev, one of the leaders of demonstrators who protected democratic Russian leadership in August 1991 against the hard-line coup, warned that diehard communist Army officers plan to stage various provocations "if not in August, then in September".

Yeltsin Relieves Deputy Interior Minister of Duties

LD2307094493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0808 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By KRIM-PRESS, Yuriy Shcherban]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—Andrey Dunayev, Russian first deputy of internal affairs, has been relieved of his duties by a decree of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

As first deputy minister of internal affairs, Major General Dunayev was in charge of the criminal militia sector and of the activities of all the Ministry's operational services.

Grand Council of Ministers Postponement Viewed

PM2207112193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Lvov commentary: "Why Was the Grand Council of Ministers Postponed?"]

[Text] The Grand Council of Ministers—an enlarged sitting of the Russian Federation Government with the participation of leaders of executive and representative organs of republics, krays, and oblasts of Russia—has been postponed from 29 July to 6 August. This deferment was preceded by another one: As we know, operating in the traditions of the Central Committee-style Politburo, the Supreme Soviet 8 July decided to call the head of government to account. But since this decision contravened the laws adopted by the same parliament, the Council of Ministers Presidium deemed it impossible for the premier to address the deputies at the proposed time: The questions should be discussed first of all at an enlarged sitting of the Council of Ministers.

One of the reasons for the postponement of the premier's report to parliament was the fact that at that time there were no official statistics available for the first six months of the year, and it was illogical to base analysis on data from only three months. These materials are now available, but the sitting has been put off anyway. Why is this?

In our view, there are several reasons. Obviously this is not a question of the technical and organizational difficulties involved in preparing a Grand Council of Ministers. The main thing is that the members of the government have not yet managed to work out an agree view of the measures which must be adopted to resolve the crisis and stabilize the economic situation in the country. There are certain differences of opinion among the government members over the nature of possible anticrisis measures and ways of effecting reform. But it is precisely this variety of approaches, rather than any ostentatious conformity within the "team," that enables an optimum decision to be sought. This is a question of the future of the reforms, so you have to look before you leap.

Another important reason for the deferment of the Grand Council of Ministers is that parliament has still not ratified the budget for 1993. And how can a program of anticrisis measures be elaborated if you do not know what resources you can firmly count on? Parliament is delaying, it is being indecisive, and as a result the country is living with an unratified budget. In these conditions, it is very hard to construct an economic policy.

The work of the government is also being made difficult by the unceasing attacks on its policy on the part of parliament. The latest volley is evidently being prepared at the All-Russia Economic Conference being held on the initiative of the Supreme Soviet, which is planned for 27 and 28 July—actually on the eve of the previous date of the Grand Council of Ministers. And another possible reason for its deferment is the desire to "thin out" these measures over a space of time to avoid putting pressure on the government members, expose the reaction of those who are criticizing its course, and have time to analyze their claims and elaborate suitable decisions. Clearly, no matter how representative the conference planned by the parliament may be, it does not have any powers to adjust the economic course, and in particular, there can be no question of interference in the leadership of the economy. By law, this is the domain of the government, which, while conducting multifaceted routine work, is seeking long-term solutions. The work of the Grand Council of Ministers is also in this direction. For example, within its framework, a regional economic conference chaired by First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets is opening today in Perm.

The provisional date of the Grand Council of Ministers is 6 August. Will our restless parliamentarians recess in that time? It is most likely that they will not, out of a desire to nevertheless hear the premier's report, which he may give in parliament following a discussion of the six-month results and the anticrisis measures at the Grand Council of Ministers.

Chernomyrdin's, Vice Premiers' Activities Reported

PM2207120193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text] **Meetings, Talks, Sessions**

Russian Government Head Viktor Chernomyrdin met with his Tajik counterpart Abdullodzhanov to discuss a broad range of issues pertaining to Russian-Tajik economic relations. The head of the Cabinet then held a meeting with his deputies during which they mainly discussed the course of preparations for the session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, the date of which has been switched from 29 July to 6 August.

At the moment questions on the agenda for the upcoming session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government Presidium scheduled for today include the Russian Federation minimum subsistence level and honoring commodity debts in respect of vouchers held by Russian citizens, as well as the draft Council of Ministers decrees "On Grain Prices" and "On Bread Prices." The upcoming Presidium session will discuss steps to provide Moscow's population with food in 1993.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko took part in a "roundtable" for Russian and foreign journalists. In the afternoon he attended a session of the Commission on Advanced Studies and Technologies.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov held working meetings at the Ministry of the Economy during the day. He then took part in the meeting with Russian Government Head Viktor Chernomyrdin. In the evening Oleg Lobov attended a reception at the Belgian Embassy.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets spent the day engaged in countless talks. In the morning with German Minister of Post and Telecommunications Boetsch, later with the leadership of the Mercedes-Benz concern, and in the evening with the general representative of the [Austrian] firm VOeEST-Alpine. The talks mainly focused on broadening cooperation with these firms in the sphere of communications development, joint projects to manufacture buses, and other mutually beneficial projects.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays met with Savisaar, deputy speaker of the Estonian parliament.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray left on a trip to Krasnodar.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin took part in a session of the Currency and Economic Commission and then in talks with the leadership of Mercedes-Benz.

During a meeting with the leadership of Russia's Ministry of Social Protection of the Population, Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov discussed the steps being taken to provide the population with social protection and then attended a meeting with Vietnamese Trade Minister Le Van Triet at the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV] Embassy. The discussion focused on questions pertaining to the development of SRV-Russian trade and economic relations.

The work of the All-Russia conference of food industry personnel is continuing in Moscow, in which Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha is taking part. Yesterday he studied the experience of processing enterprises' work in Moscow. Speaking at the opening of the conference, the vice premier said in particular that next year Russia will be able to stop importing grain, meat, and milk. Owing to the steps taken, according to Aleksandr Zaveryukha, there is a tendency for Russian producers to stabilize milk and egg production.

Statements

Nothing is more important for reforms in Russia today than privatization and the fight against inflation, Russian Federation First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko said at a briefing Wednesday [21 July]. According to him, the Supreme Soviet, which suspended the president's edict on guarantees of citizens' rights when property is privatized the day before, struck at the heart of reform by "stopping the most important thing—privatization."

V. Shumeyko also spoke negatively of parliament's adoption of a decree transferring the rights of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property to the whole government, which means, in the vice premier's opinion, involving all sectoral ministries and departments in privatization, a process of which they take a disparate view.

The first vice premier spoke of the existence in the country of two opposing political systems that "even feel mutual loathing." He voiced the hope that the adoption of a new constitution would put an end to this situation. "It is simply impossible to engage in economic reform in this situation," V. Shumeyko said.

Speaking about the All-Russia economic conference scheduled for the end of July on parliament's initiative, V. Shumeyko voiced the opinion that it had a purely political goal—"to prove once again that the government is not tackling the economy, has gotten bogged down in politics, and the Supreme Soviet is forced to take on the government's role and deal with the economy." V. Shumeyko also considers that the question of the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers may even be raised at the conference "if enough deputies assemble there."

Corruption

A rayon architect has been arrested in Volgograd Oblast for receiving bribes totaling around 500,000 rubles from personnel in commercial structures and individual developers for issuing certificates to obtain bank loans.

Further on Official Activities

PM2307104993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text] **Meetings, Trips, Talks**

Virtually all members of the government spent the bulk of yesterday at a session of the Council of Ministers Presidium.

At the end of the day First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko took part in a session of the Mendeleyev Chemical and Technological University academic council.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov devoted the day to international contacts. He met with a delegation from the French Senate and also with Klaus Blech, FRG ambassador to Russia.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov met with Vietnamese Trade Minister Le Van Triet.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin met with Zambian Vice President L. Mwanawasa.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets arrived in Perm to take part in a zonal conference on the environmental situation in the region due to open today. This meeting will discuss questions pertaining to the country's socio-economic situation and measures to stabilize it. Leaders of Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, Kurgan, Orenburg, Perm, Sverdlovsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, the Komi-Permyatskiy Autonomous Okrug, and federal ministries and departments, and also a range of leading industrial enterprises from the region will take part in the conference.

Similar conferences will be held in other regions, in particular in Novosibirsk, which Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha has visited specially, within the framework of the preparations for the coming session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov will take part in the work of a similar conference in St. Petersburg.

Documents

Several Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government directives have been signed pertaining to labor collectives' privatization of a number of industrial enterprises.

Smolensk's "Izmeritel" plant will be turned into an open-type joint-stock company. However 51 percent of the joint-stock company's shares are assigned to federal ownership for a three-year period.

Altay's "Rotor" instrument making plant (Barnaul) is being privatized on the same conditions.

In the process of privatizing the Azov shipyard provision it is envisaged that shares will be issued, with a "controlling interest" retained for a three-year period. The "Apatit" Production Association (Murmansk Oblast) and the "Kriogenmash" Science-and-Production Association (Moscow Oblast) are also being privatized on similar terms.

A Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government directive has formed interdepartmental coordinating groups, comprising specialists from interested ministries, departments, and organizations, to provide practical assistance in organizing the work of exporting output and commodities in 1993 from the ports of Osetrovo, Arkhangelsk, Vladivostok, and Nakhodka to the Far North and, primarily, to areas with a restricted shipping season.

Statements

The draft constitution formulated by the Constitutional Conference must be submitted to a Congress of People's Deputies so as not to give the opponents of this document an opportunity for fault-finding, Russian Federation Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov said. There are no guarantees that the Congress will adopt this draft, he noted, "however nor are there any guarantees that it (the Congress) will reject it."

If the Congress does nonetheless reject the Constitutional Conference's draft, "we will still have the right to appeal to the people directly via a referendum," Yu. Yarov considers. At the same time, by his own admission the vice premier is not himself in favor of putting the draft constitution to a referendum. "The people must be asked what organ they trust to adopt the constitution," he said.

In Yuriy Yarov's opinion, two drafts will be vying with one another at the Congress—the Constitutional Conference and the Constitutional Commission drafts—"but our draft will win through all the same." The vice premier attributed this to the fact that the Constitutional Conference has developed a version of the Constitution "that will not change according to the weather."

Russian Federation Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun surmised that average grain prices will be set at 60,000-65,000 rubles per tonne. That will be a compromise between the government's proposals and farmers' demands.

The minister favored cutting imports of agricultural produce, in particular grain.

Touching on the role of private farmers in Russia's agrarian sector, V. Khlystun noted that they supplied 1.5 percent of total gross agricultural outlut last year. The minister voiced the view that this figure will reach 5 percent this year.

Incident

Russia has no intention of ignoring and not following up the incident that occurred 4 July in the city of Nampo (DPRK). A mob of 500-600 people surrounded three Russian trade mission personnel, along with the wife and 12-year old son of one of them, at a local bazaar. Gross acts of violence were perpetrated against them because the wife of the trade mission staffer spent several minutes videotaping the moment the group entered the market.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze spoke of this incident during a meeting with a group of Russian journalists. He also said that he had a conversation on this matter with North Korea's ambassador to Moscow and expressed his puzzlement regarding Pyongyang's reluctance to dissociate itself from the mob's actions and acknowledge the obvious facts either in public or in confidence.

Rutskoy Speaks at Civic Union's Moscow Branch Conference

PM2307104393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

["Commentary" by special correspondent Aleksandr Meshkov: "We Will Never Join Forces With Those Who Turn Out Citizens' Pockets"]

[Text] A conference of the Moscow regional branch of "Civic Union" took place recently. Taking part in it, in addition to the leaders of "Civic Union's" regional organizations, were leaders of political parties belonging to this association of centrists at federal level.

It is well known that the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] has recalled its representatives from "Civic Union's" central structures. Addressing the conference, DPR leader Nikolay Travkin explained this step by his party's leadership as a response to the violation of the principle of according equal rights to the forces within "Civic Union," and also by the fact that decisions are being made in its name without informing Civic Union partners. However, "Civic Union's" Moscow regional organization, in Travkin's opinion, has avoided the dangers of a split and of a leader cult and had therefore kept itself intact.

Undoubtedly, "Civic Union's" Moscow branch owes this unity to that master of compromises, its leader Nikolay Gonchar, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet.

However, perhaps the main thing which united the coalition partners was the difficult economic situation of the capital's region and the joint political initiatives aimed at changing this situation. In his speech Nikolay Gonchar adduced facts testifying to the serious consequences of the destruction of economic ties.

Hence the Moscow branch of "Civic Union" was putting forward an initiative on holding a referendum in four republics of the former Union (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan) on forming a single economic area. The latter would, among other things, provide for a single monetary unit, "transparent" borders, a customs union, and so forth. It is proposed that the economic union will not be of a political, military, or ideological nature. But a spokesman for the Ukrainian Civic Congress—an organization "ideologically akin" to "Civic Union"—who spoke at the congress, called such conceptions "yesterday's ideas." In his opinion, it is essential to utilize the political mechanism to create economic union. The question of a political and defense union and a single geopolitical and humanitarian area can and should be raised.

Speakers warned of the danger of implementing the "Belovezhskaya Forest option" in Russia. "Right now Russia is bogged down in a state of semi-disintegration," Vladimir Shvestkov, leader of the Moscow organization of the Free Russia People's Party said, "the state has not completely collapsed, but is not being restored either." The consequence of such a policy on the part of the center was that republics and regions are taking power into their own hands. In the opinion of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, esteemed chairman of the Free Russia People's Party, the dismemberment of Russia—a process initiated by certain radicals—is disrupting the balance of forces in the world.

A. Rutskoy also dwelt on issues of "Civic Union's" socioeconomic policy and political tactics. He defended the idea of forming "a new centrist coalition of civic forces," stating that there is no other way to oppose the "moneybags." A search for allies on another political flank would be fatal for the centrists. "We cannot join forces with those who have turned out citizens' pockets."

Undoubtedly, it is unthinkable to appeal to the government or the president in the present situation, speakers affirmed. Formerly "Civic Union" devoted much attention to talks with the authorities and the agreement of joint programs, but all these programs were invariably shelved. It is essential to begin preparation for elections, which will bring new people to power.

Former Yeltsin Aide Burbulis Remains Ally

LD2207231093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Gennadiy Burbulis, former presidential aide and former deputy prime minister, said on Thursday [22 July] that he remains a staunch ally of President Boris Yeltsin although they do not meet as often as they used to when he was in office.

Burbulis, who is now president of the international humanitarian and political centre "Strategy", told reporters that his relations with Yeltsin are those of "convinced comrades-in-arms who trust each other enough to refrain from tiring each other by excessive contacts". He added that he has a possibility to inform

the president about his position on most important and stategic issues. "Everything is normal", he stressed.

Burbulis, the most opposition-hated man after former Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, had to resign when the conflict between the president and the parliament had sharply aggravated at a Congress of People's Deputies last December.

He believes the opposition is still dangerous and should not be underestimated even after the victory of the president at the April 25 referendum. "If this danger is not taken into consideration and is not repelled, then the prospects of economic development are rather pessimistic", he said.

Burbulis is now focused on the creation of "a political elite" and of a party of reform supporters which will run at parliamentary elections. "The new political party will be created in autumn and I shall try to be useful in implementing the project", he said. The creation of such a party is "the most important business from the point of view of the democratic future of Russia", he stressed.

Burbulis believes early parliamentary elections can be held in October-November 1993 and said three major political groups will compete. The first one is the "revenge-seeking" group of communists and nationalists, the second one will unite reformers who support Yeltsin even in unfavourable conditions. The third group will be "a pragmatic bloc" which would hardly resemble a centrist force.

"I want that we have courage enough to make this pragmatic bloc our ally", he stressed, adding that he stands for a union with any political party or movement with which there is at least some coincidence in election programmes.

Burbulis welcomed the president's idea to convene a constitutional assembly and said that the initiative in the constitutional reform is still in the hands of the president. "However, it is easy to lose it", he warned.

Faction Proposals on Constitution's Adoption

PM2207120993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jul 93 First Edition p2

[Report by Aleksey Vorobyev under the "Factions" rubric: "Barometer of Interests About to Register 'Stormy'"]

[Text] Circumstances are such that a congress or a referendum cannot be avoided with regard to the new constitution's adoption. This idea was expressed at a session of the Accord for Progress parliamentary faction held in the White House. Although its leaders Yu. Nesterov, V. Lysenko, and V. Sheynis voiced doubts that the present corps of deputies would be able to rise above its political bias and approve the prepared constitutional draft, no other legitimate means of completing this process is apparent at present.

The faction set out its proposals regarding the procedure for further work on the text of the Constitution. The result of the first stage of the Constitutional Conference, this text must be submitted for discussion to the working groups of the Constitutional Conference and the Constitutional Commission. These same groups must also jointly prepare draft laws on elections to the Federal Assembly and on political parties, plus a law on the transitional period.

After a majority of participants in the Constitutional Conference has voted for the documents coordinated by the two working groups, they must be submitted for approval by sessions of representative organs of power in the Federation's various components; if this approval is secured, the Congress of People's Deputies will be responsible for the draft of the new constitution. If the Congress fails to rise up to the task, one-third of the corps of deputies will demand that the draft be put to a nationwide referendum.

In principle, the proposed scheme is highly logical, completely legal, and reflects the considered, moderate point of view of liberal intellectuals. It could probably become the basis for compromise between the executive and legislative powers in work on the Constitution. It could, if there were not a serious flaw in the present constitutional process, which is unlikely to be overcome in the near future.

Its symptoms are constantly being detected, even in proposals by the Accord for Progress faction. For example, it is proposed not to allow the introduction of any amendments to the text when the draft constitution is considered at soviet sessions, because this would apparently make the process of coordination interminable. But, excuse me, if the Federation's components are unable to add anything to the text, this means they are merely being assigned the humiliating role of a machine for primitive "approval" and all "discussion" will be reduced to the usual practice of extorting or buying the necessary quantity of deputy votes.

What does this have to do with democracy and civilized law-making? And will the Federation's components agree to such a degrading role?

Moreover, how many of these components must approve the draft for it to be submitted to the Congress or put to a referendum? Fifty? Sixty? And will a simple majority be enough? After all, even if only a dozen or so oblasts, krays, and republics do not support the draft constitution, they will then consider themselves free to ignore it. The faction has not given any figure, precisely because the problem cannot be solved by simple arithmetic.

Equally so, the intellectuals' proposed new procedure for counting the votes in a referendum will not solve the problem of "nationwide approval." In their opinion, the Constitution must either be adopted by a simple majority of registered voters or by two-thirds of those who turn out to vote. Even this simplified procedure is unlikely to guarantee the requisite number of approving

votes, and the consequences for the central power if it is even only 10 votes short will be catastrophic.

This, then, is the main problem of today's constitutional process: Society is divided and the interests of the various political and social groups and regional elites cannot possibly be combined in any one draft. They change too rapidly and give rise to quite unexpected ambitions, which will inevitably manifest themselves in more and more new clashes and conflicts over the Constitution. No one text, however perfect, can take account of them all, especially as it is impossible to combine these ambitions in the procedure of adopting this text.

It seems that, sucked into the stream of constitutional reform, even the most realistic politicians are quite unable to perceive the main factor making all their efforts futile: There is still no accord in our society.

Democratic Deputies' Change of Camps Viewed

PM2307101193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 2

[Interview with Candidate of Juridical Sciences Leonid Volkov, people's deputy, member of the Russian Constitutional Commission, and member of the Social Democratic Party of Russia Board, by Pavel Anokhin; place and date not given: "We Turned Out to Be Insufficiently Mature To Carry Out Everything We Took On"]

[Text] The latest Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies clearly illuminated the transition of a large group of democratic legislators into the camp of President Boris Yeltsin's opponents. Candidate of Juridical Sciences Leonid Volkov, people's deputy, member of the Russian Constitutional Commission, and member of the Social Democratic Party of Russia Board—a politician involved in the origination of "Democratic Russia," expresses his opinion on the reasons for this.

[Anokhin] Leonid Borisovich, how did it happen that a certain group of deputies, who went to the elections beneath the banner of democracy and support for Boris Yeltsin, has now found itself in his opponents' camp?

[Volkov] As far as resolute adherents of "Democratic Russia" who support the president are concerned, then there are approximately as many of them today in the parliament as there were before the First Congress—220-250 people...

[Anokhin] However, let us recall the unanimity with which Russian legislators adopted the declaration on Russia's sovereignty, getting to their feet and applauding. You will agree that when they first started working, deputies gave Boris Yeltsin mass assistance on many issues.

[Volkov] The readiness of the Congress of Deputies to support Boris Yeltsin at that time was determined by Russia's struggle against the Union center, which had completely discredited itself in the eyes of both right-wingers and left-wingers. There was a dispute going on among Russian politicians over the concepts of the country's economic development, but it was obvious that the Union center was not giving Russia the opportunity to develop independently. And a significant proportion of deputies, who did not join members of "Democratic Russia" but did have a negative attitude to the past, supported the supreme Russian power. Even Communists who advocated traditional values also wanted greater freedom and openness. That determined the first phase in the Congress's activity.

[Anokhin] Against the backdrop of the Union parliament, the Russian parliament was welcomed as a kind of model of progressiveness...

[Volkov] Idealists and romantics very much like to talk about this now, forgetting that attempts to change the situation in parliament to the detriment of democracy were persistently made at the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Congresses of People's Deputies. An example of this was the famous declaration of Russian Supreme Soviet deputy chairmen at the Third Congress of People's Deputies when Boris Yeltsin's opponents tried to overthrow him yet again. From time to time, the actions of conservative forces in parliament did not produce any obvious results, because many vacillating deputies intuitively perceived the danger of destabilization. A significant change started at the Sixth Congress.

[Anokhin] What was the reason for this? Why did the vacillating deputies, and indeed not only they, though aware of the danger of destabilization, court it by taking the side of the Russian president's opponents?

[Volkov] The critical point was the country's transition to what we call radical economic reforms, particularly when Yegor Gaydar's government came to power...

[Anokhin] But after all, the Congress gave the president additional powers to carry out these reforms. And in practical terms it recognized Boris Yeltsin as the head of government, despite the fact that the president is the head of the executive power.

[Volkov] Even at the Fourth Congress I voted against giving him these powers. The Russian president needs to be an authoritative national figure and not a whipping boy. Even then I had the impression that the Communist deputies who voted in favor of giving Boris Yeltsin these power were pursuing provocational intentions to bring him down with them and deal with him.

We all somehow swallowed the bait, believing that the democrats in power are responsible for everything now. It must be stated specifically: Democrats were not in power before and they are not in power now. This is a myth which the nomenklatura is feeding to society. You can only observe individual fragments of democratic actions in the power system.

[Anokhin] Many people see Boris Yeltsin's election, first as chairman of the Supreme Soviet and then as president of Russia, as the coming to power of the democrats.

[Volkov] Boris Yeltsin was close to the democrats, but he was not in "Democratic Russia." His link with "Democratic Russia" was to a certain extent conditional. Once he had become president, Boris Yeltsin was constrained in his potential, given the positions and potential of various political associations, including antidemocratic ones.

If you unroll the map of power from top to bottom, it will seem even more convincing. We will see that the heads of administrations, chairmen of soviets, and judges have not, as a rule, belonged to any democratic parties or movements. The majority of them were at best prepared to carry out various reforms, but that does not testify to their belonging to the democrats by any means.

[Anokhin] Nevertheless, in people's minds, many of the present changes, and particularly the negative ones, are associated with the democrats' activity. For instance the reforms of Yegor Gaydar's government.

[Volkov] The work of Gaydar's government has been historically justified. This primarily means the policy of leading Russia out of the crisis in which it found itself during the past 70 years of its development. The communist partyocracy very much likes to stress the present devastation, accusing the reformers, but avoids talking about the real reasons, the fact that our postwar economy was wasteful and was going nowhere for decades. In the end it started to fall apart, when, with our military priorities, we lost the Afghan war and the star wars contest in the form of SDI.

However, this is not just a question of the Soviet military-industrial complex. People today have forgotten the great diversions of the rivers, the great land reclamation, the great chemicalization, the great "construction projects of the century," the "great unfinished construction works," and a great deal besides, into which the CPSU recklessly flung enormous resources.

All this is just the brink of our "merits." For instance, in 1980 scientists tried to clarify why the USSR, one of the world leaders in metal production, was experiencing such an acute shortage of it? It turned out that around 80 percent of metal was turned into shavings and rust.

The country inexorably approached disintegration, and it was necessary to get away from the expenditure economy. That is what the Gorbachev leadership started doing. V. Pavlov was the first to give directors of enterprises and ministers the right to liberate prices, which straight away led to a growth in inflation, and a price race. Nowadays many people do not remember this, just as they do not remember the tobacco riots, the shortage of meat, and the disruptions in bread supplies.

Yegor Gaydar's government came to power against the backdrop of this disintegration, when the system of economic ties broke down and the banks were in a state of fever... In addition, the Yeltsin-Gaydar policy was greeted with powerful resistance by nomenklatura forces at local level, which started to sabotage the reforms openly.

[Anokhin] But after all, the problems which the democrats came up against cannot be explained by resistance of the nomenklatura alone.

[Volkov] The poor cadre policy of Boris Yeltsin's team was another of the reasons why the democratic wing of parliament started to dwindle. This is not just a question of serious mistakes in appointments. Unfortunately, the democrats did not work with cadres either in the center or at local level. The president's services made a mistake, operating by edict methods in politics.

Thus, on the eve of the Sixth Congress of Deputies, we created a "reform coalition" in parliament, which was joined by around 300 deputies. The idea was simple—to create a parliamentary majority of presidential policy, which would correct this policy in a specific way, and use cadres to ensure that it was carried out. However, we did not manage to achieve the cooperation with the presidential side that was needed.

As a result, the democrats let the Sixth Congress slip out of their hands, although it could have been won both for the good of the president and for the good of the cause. We know what this has led to. The president had to make concessions, but this time as the loser. And in our society, where the power system is built not on political parties but on traditional respect for power itself, from then on there was a purely psychological reaction of disrespect toward the person who had lost power. And therein lie the roots of the alienation of a specific group of deputies from the president.

[Anokhin] We all talk about the blunders of the presidential side. But since we are talking about "Democratic Russia," no doubt a dig will have to made at it too.

[Volkov] Unfortunately, we turned out to be insufficiently mature to carry out everything we took on. This includes support for Boris Yeltsin. Theoretically, everything is decided and discussed correctly, but when it comes down to specific actions, you get a heap of personal ambitions, poor organization, and a lack of discipline.

Economic Issues

Draft Presidential Edict on Land Reform Reviewed

MK2207123093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Svetlana Lyuboshits report: "Oh, the Farmer's Hard Lot! Now Farmers Can Sell It"]

[Text] The president's draft edict on the deepening of land reform is under discussion in ministries and agencies. This is what was said yesterday by Russian Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun at a press conference.

The centerpiece of the draft, which the Agriculture Ministry would hate to give up for all the world, is the introduction of a market for land allotments. That is, in addition to the lot the farmers get free when splitting away from collective farms, the new owners may buy some land from pensioners, teachers, kindergarten workers [as published], and other holders of land allotments. Otherwise, all private farms will be doomed to a land shortage.

The minister also discussed associated difficulties, relating primarily to the financial sphere. The state budget for this year earmarks 933 billion rubles [R] for the agro-industrial sector—precisely one-third of the amount it really needs. The farmers will get R91 billion. The minister pins all his hopes on the Fund for agro-industrial sector support that so far exists only on paper. The fund plans to receive 3 percent out of the total amount of sales by all industrial enterprises.

And, finally, the grain. This year, the government will buy only 11-12 million tonnes out of the estimated 110-112 million. The rest will go to the free market. Nonetheless, grain growers have been haggling with the government even over this paltry 11 million tonnes of grain for as long as six weeks. The results are to be determined at the Council of Ministers Presidium meeting today. The reason for the haggling is as follows: the grain growers stubbornly insist on an average price of R90 per kg, whereas the Agriculture Ministry is ready to accept R60. If the grain growers have their way, one kilogram of animal formula feed will cost R270. This means that few would be able to buy meat, butter, or other livestock produce.

As for grain imports, traditional for Russia, they have met their end. The government has come to the conclusion that it is not wise to import not only grain, but other agricultural produce as well (!). They have already imported so much that there is no one willing to help the government get 600,000 tonnes of imported potatoes and 40,000 tonnes of (also imported) meat and butter off its hands. Therefore, the food commission proposed that customs tariffs should be imposed on agricultural raw materials purchased by nonstate businesses. In the commission's view, the only thing Russia needs at present is soya ground oil-cake and corn. At last!

Government Approves Draft Law on Subsistence Level

LD2207204993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1615 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—The Russian Government Presidium has approved in principle a draft law on the subsistence level in Russia.

Meeting with journalists, Russian Labour Minister Georgiy Melikyan said that the major problem that faced the authors of the draft law was the calculation of the minimum consumer's basket as some experts demanded that it should ensure decent living standards, while others, including Melikyan, insisted on a more moderate sum which could be covered from the state budget.

In June the subsistence level was 16,000 roubles. In July this sum will grow to 19,000 roubles per person. The minimum wage in Russia is 7,740 roubles. At present, one in three people in the republic live in a family where a monthly income per person is below the official subsistence level.

Originally, the draft law stipulated that the minimum wage should not be lower than the subsistence level. But in the present situation there are not enough budget means to back up this provision. As a result, it has been removed from the document. As the financial situation improves, the parliament may return to discussing this question, Melikyan said. The document has been returned for finalisation and will be submitted for approval to the parliament next month.

More on Subsistence Wage

PM2307091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 1

[Lyubov Dunayeva report under the rubric "In the Government": "The Subsistence Level and Bread Prices"]

[Text] The very agenda of yesterday's session of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government left no doubts that it was going to be specific and tense. And indeed, the issue on the agenda was the subsistence level in the Russian Federation and grain and bread prices.

The Law on the Subsistence Level must be understood and applied in everyday life by pensioners, disabled people, heads of administrations, and ministers. In which case the draft needs further work—that is the conclusion of the Presidium session. The minimum wage today is only half the subsistence level, with the result that around 50 million Russians (or 33 percent) have an income below the subsistence level. While the minimum wage today is set at 7,740 rubles [R], that will cost R550 billion a month, and the state does not have those resources right now. The adoption of the Law on the Subsistence Level will require specific assessments of what the situation may be like on 1 August or 1 September to enable the government to adopt the necessary measures on the question of the subsistence level.

Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of the Russian Government, said that the government is giving this question

the most serious attention. Some sectors and individual structures may be hurt in the process, the Russian premier said, but this question absolutely must be resolved.

The question of bread prices was no less complex. Bread prices are based on the June grain price of R24,000 per tonne but in the fourth quarter of the year that price will rise to R35,000 a tonne. As Lira Rozenova, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Pricing Policy, noted, if the price per tonne rises to R50,000, a kilogram of state-subsidized bread will cost R120.

However, in this sphere too the government will do everything possible to ease social tension.

The situation is becoming no less alarming in stockraising, which depends directly on grain prices. Unless prices of livestock products are revised, speakers noted, irreparable harm will be done to the national economy. Particular damage may be inflicted on Russia's Non-Chernozem Zone and the Far East. Feed production must be subsidized, otherwise stockraising as a sector will be doomed.

The Russian premier proposed setting a base price of R60,000 per tonne of grain with the inclusion of a "well considered indexation mechanism." The members of the Council of Ministers Presidium agreed with that decision.

Military Issues

Grachev Now Has Nuclear Button 'Briefcase'

PM2307133193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 1

[Igor Chernyak report: "Pavel Grachev Takes Over Nuclear Briefcase From Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov"]

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has informed KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that the briefcase with the nuclear button is currently in the hands of Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense. The Russian minister received the briefcase after the departure from his post of Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, who was simultaneously commander in chief of the Commonwealth countries' Strategic Nuclear Forces. It is noteworthy that the nuclear briefcase was placed in Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's hands by decision of the Council of CIS Heads of State, which has adopted no documents recently on transferring weapons of retaliation to Russia's jurisdiction.

Let us recall that the Strategic Nuclear Forces of the former USSR are today stationed on the territory of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan.

Cosmos-2260 Satellite Launched From Plesetsk 22 Jul

LD2307091693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0856 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—The Cosmos-2260 satellite was launched with a Soyuz booster rocket from the Plesetsk Cosmodrome on July 22, 1993.

The satellite carries equipment for photographing the earth's surface to compile cadastres of natural resources and to monitor soils in the interests of various economic sectors of the Russian Federation and international cooperation.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:
Initial period of revolution—88.6 minutes,
Apogee—256 kilometers,
Perigee—193 kilometers,
Orbital inclination—82.3 decrees.

The equipment installed on the satellite operates normally.

The Russian geodetic and cartography service receives incoming information from the satellite.

Skokov Interviewed on National Security, Reforms

PM2207145393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Yuriy Skokov, former secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, by correspondent Aleksandr Chernyak; place and date not given: "Yuriy Skokov: 'We Are Steering the Reform in the Wrong Direction...'"]

[Text] We often hear the claim that U.S. vital interests are affected and national security is under threat. Sometimes what lies behind this is one or two offended Americans, not that it matters how many. Or some firm has sold something unauthorized to an unfriendly state—there is an immediate reaction from the President and government, even going so far as the use of military force, as in Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf.

What is Russia's national security, and what is its military doctrine?

Your PRAVDA correspondent discusses this with Yuriy Skokov, former secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council.

[Skokov] I have already had to set out my view on this question. I will repeat it briefly. After 1917 we began to profess a certain ideology in the belief that it was the most humane and correct ideology, and we wanted to make people happy by carrying out world revolution. Everything was aimed at, on the one hand, protecting this ideology from enemy infiltration from outside so that the enemy did not disrupt our sacred goals and

prevent us from achieving them and, on the other, advancing our own ideology in the outside world.

Essentially the state began not to perform its original function, the purpose for which it actually arose, but assumed the role of defender of this ideology. And when we began to write the law on security in 1991 the first thing we tried to do was to create a concept of national security.

[Chernyak] Today you constantly hear it said that this concept is lacking. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, your successor as Security Council secretary, hastened to hold a conference on this problem.

[Skokov] The concept does exist. It was elaborated last year, but it is not the same as the U.S. concept in either form or substance. Over there this system has existed for almost 50 years, a structure has been developed, and factors representing a threat to security have been defined. The security concept for a specific period is based around this. But initially we could not even clearly formulate the task.

[Chernyak] How did you formulate it?

[Skokov] First, there is the defense of vitally important questions of the individual, the defense of human rights and freedoms. Second, there is the defense of a civil society. And third, there is defense of the state as such, that is, of territorial integrity and statehood. What is meant by defense of human rights and freedoms is not merely the right to say something freely, but primarily the right to normal living conditions, tranquillity, and confidence in the future.

An attempt has been made to revive legal regulatory norms. The state should defend not itself, but people. It was for the sake of this that people united to form it.

The problem of national security contains four aspects. The first is the domestic political aspect, or, to be more precise, the federative structure of the state and how to build and defend the state so that it does not fall apart.

The second is the foreign political aspect. The world situation has changed, and methods and modes of relations with the outside world have changed. The state's foreign policy activity is outlined within the framework of this aspect. Incidentally, the basic provisions of Russia's foreign policy concept have been agreed with all interested departments and approved by the president. How they are being implemented is a different matter.

The third aspect is military doctrine as such, and the fourth is the choice of the main factors which pose a threat at the moment and which must be countered. There you have the logic and the structure of the concept of national security. It has also been elaborated in detail.

[Chernyak] That is all fine. But it is a pity it remains on the shelf.

[Skokov] Well, that is a different question, and one outside my power. Now a few words about military doctrine. It transpired that we did not have a military doctrine as such. Frunze alone tried to sketch something out.

[Chernyak] And later everything was laid down by party decrees and congress decisions...

[Skokov] It was said that we have an enemy and we must deliver a first strike against the aggressor. Then there was some kind of invention during Gorbachev's time—about defense doctrine. But this was not a military doctrine, merely a declaration.

Work on the military doctrine was based on the following fundamental arguments. The political situation has changed. Yesterday it was a matter of us and them. Today we have no potential enemy and there is no point in saying that there is a specific enemy who poses a threat and we are forming a group to repulse him. On the other hand we are faced with all too many factors representing a threat, and these may in theory shake the foundations of state and territorial integrity.

Next. The approach toward the Armed Forces and the military has changed. The Armed Forces formerly included the Army, Border Guards, and Railroad Troops. Today there is a new fundamental basis—there are laws about the military service obligation and military service, about the state border, about Internal Troops, about the militia, about the Federal Government Communication and Information Organs, and about intelligence. The Defense Ministry, the Security Ministry, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] now have a legal basis and their own specific tasks.

The state structure and administration have changed, the economy is undergoing change, and the system for implementing military orders is now different. The structure and nature of the Defense Ministry have changed. Remember the comments that it ought to be headed by a civilian?

[Chernyak] Rumor had it that a woman was going to fill that post. But a total civilian has become first deputy defense minister—Kokoshin.

[Skokov] This is connected with the fact that, after the disbandment of the Council of Ministers Commission on Military-Industrial Questions, they decided to pursue a different policy in the sphere of the development, creation, and placing into production of military equipment. The Defense Ministry's function is to order everything necessary. It was also necessary to review the question: What is military force?

The military doctrine stems from this.

[Chernyak] There is a lot of talk about this, but in practice it does not exist...

[Skokov] It does. When the Russian Army was created, there was a special session of the Security Council and

the Defense Ministry Collegium. The ministry was instructed to prepare the military doctrine. A small group was set up for this purpose. First of all we tried to formulate a concept of what military doctrine is.

[Chernyak] And what is it?

[Skokov] We concluded that military doctrine is the aggregate of officially accepted views in the country regarding the formation, employment, and utilization of military force to ensure security and defend the state's vital interests, meaning in accordance with the law on the security of the individual-society-state triad.

Military doctrine consists of four sections. The first defines the term "military force." The second defines how to form this military force. In what proportions? And also structure and ideology. The third section is about supporting this military force with equipment, arms, and ammunition. This also includes military-technical cooperation.

It was proposed to produce a fourth section of the doctrine centering on man and the protection of his interests. If the aggregate of citizens creates the state in order to defend themselves together by having an army for that purpose, then we must also think about how to defend servicemen.

[Chernyak] Who have been subject to persecution in recent years...

[Skokov] Persecution and ostracism. They need protection. And there is another point. In our country there is now no provision in the constitution relating to the universal military service obligation. How can we now staff the Army? How can we ensure its professionalism? What should be the relations between the Army and society? How should society guarantee, and guarantee without fail, servicemen's future?

This year the Security Council adopted the first section of the doctrine—the military-political section. It was instructed to elaborate the other three. At my insistence a sociopolitical section containing questions of social guarantees for the military was included for elaboration in the military doctrine. I would note that this met with resistance in many circles.

I would like to make special mention of this problem. After all, as I have already said, we used to have a constitutional [military service] obligation, we used to have a certain system of relations between the Army and the state, and the state used to make guarantees vis-a-vis the military. When he returned to civilian life after demobilization, a person had no particular problems finding a job or an opportunity to study. Housing problems were also resolved, albeit poorly.

None of this applies today. And if something happens to a soldier, bearing in mind the numerous local interethnic conflicts, what guarantees are there for his family? Take career personnel. Yesterday officers and generals were in one situation, today they are in another. Young lieutenants and captains are looking at the course of the economic reforms and thinking: I will be pensioned off at 45, but everything will already have been privatized and dismantled. How am I going to live then?

Protection of officers is today very unreliable and difficult. This has been confirmed once again by the troop withdrawals from the Baltics and Germany.

[Chernyak] Thousands and thousands of people have been left without a roof over their heads...

[Skokov] Exactly. People are being removed from their old haunts, but no one is expecting them back home. The withdrawal of the Army has not been coordinated. Organs of power at local level can do little. Servicemen used to receive a certain percentage of the housing in each block that was commissioned irrespective of the system of financing, because these were central capital investments. This is no longer the case today. I insisted that a section on social protection for servicemen form part of the doctrine.

[Chernyak] And does it?

[Skokov] As I said, this proposal ran up against fierce opposition. So far as I know, the Defense Ministry now thinks it inadvisable to incorporate this section in the doctrine. In my view, this is a big mistake. Until the question of social protection for servicemen is resolved, it will be a waste of time. I will cite an example. During the election campaign B. Yeltsin visited the Tula Airborne Forces Division. He was given a good reception, and a sensible discussion took place. In the elections over 70 percent of the Tula people voted for him as president. Then came the well known August [1991] events, and some time in October Lebed, the former commander of the division, came along and said that in an unofficial poll only 23 percent now favored Yeltsin and 28 percent favored Zhirinovskiy.

"Why is this?" I asked. His view may be superficial, but there is an element of truth in it: People are saying that the president has not kept his preelection promises. We discussed this question and agreed to find a way of implementing the promises. And then there appeared the fund for social guarantees to servicemen. In my view, the fund is a successful form of relations with the Army. It has not sold and is not selling property and does not trade in weapons. Its task is to help servicemen to find jobs or to set up commercial structures. But with the proviso that they will pay a contribution—a percentage will go to construct housing for servicemen. In this way we have constructed five blocks for the Tula Division.

There is another aspect I would like to mention—political departments in the Army. They have vanished as such, and the system for social work in subunits has collapsed along with them. After all, an officer's family always knew where to go if there was something wrong—it would go to the political department and receive help there. The post of chief of the Main Political Directorate

was equivalent to deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, and he was a member of the CPSU Central Committee. He could call the secretary of a republic Communist Party or oblast party committee and resolve any question. Whether this was bad or good, it was a system for the social protection of servicemen. And it worked. On top of that there were state decisions on allocating housing to servicemen. But now the president instructs heads of administrations: "Allocate housing to the military." How are they going to obey? Who is going to fund this? After all, today they get money for housing construction not from the state but from enterprises and commercial structures. Conflicts arise.

Unless the state resolves this problem, people themselves will begin to resolve it. And they are doing so. Officers' assemblies have emerged. They are harbingers. There is beginning to be talk of trade unions in the Army, and so on, and so forth. This is an objective process, people are uniting in a quest for protection for themselves and their families. Some are beginning to trade without having the legal basis for this.

[Chernyak] Hence these cases of corruption...

[Skokov] To a large extent yes. We have behaved incorrectly toward the Army, and even now we have not overcome this.

[Chernyak] All the indications are that Russia may end up with a military doctrine but without an Army. These are not journalistic fantasies used to scare the government and the president. It is the chief of the General Staff who is saying this. There are grounds for making such a statement. On the one hand, the Army is being swiftly reduced. Last year twice as many people as planned were discharged from its ranks. At the same time out of 100 [potential] draftees, only 29 joined the Army. Young men are trying to get out of the draft on various pretexts. There is undermanning everywhere, and today companies have 30 or 40 men.

The equipment is getting old, but new equipment is not being received. Last year Russia in all its history [as published] did not launch a single ship. Aircraft are reaching the end of their lifetimes and crashing increasingly often. Pilots can spend little time in the air because of the shortage of kerosene and are losing their skill.

[Skokov] All that is true. And you're right, appropriate measures should be taken. The military doctrine does envisage them. You mention the shortage of people in subunits. How was the Army formerly manned? The General Staff looked after this. Within its system there were military commissariats, which, guided by the constitution and by the Law on Universal Military Service Obligation, recruited people. Draft notices were sent out, and if you tried to duck out of serving, there were strict sanctions, including trial and imprisonment.

Nowadays everything is totally different. People are saying: We have a big Army, and we ought to consider whether it is necessary at all, these are all leftovers from the totalitarian system. But the army is an attribute of statehood. It exists in any country. And the fact that in the period since 1988 we have essentially trampled upon the Army—and your colleagues in the mass media have had a hand in this—is no credit to anyone, to put it mildly.

[Chernyak] But you will agree that politicians had more of a hand in the disintegration.

[Skokov] Shortsighted politicians. That is a big mistake. The state is thereby destroying itself. Today people are not joining the Army. It is a low-status job. And there are no guarantees—people in uniform are totally unprotected.

There is a lot of talk about hirelings [nayemniki] who are going to serve on contract. But nothing is clear with regard to them. What legal norms are they to be given? What guarantees?

Now for equipment and arms. We used to have the institution of general designers, who were responsible for the future, for ensuring that equipment and arms matched up to contemporary demands. The relevant sectors of industry were responsible for production. This was enshrined by legislation. People knew they were personally responsible. There was expert assessment, there were scientific and technical committees and councils, there were acceptance commissions...

[Chernyak] Has all this now been destroyed?

[Skokov] Yes. The financing has also been disrupted. Today we can speak of the system of financing also as an element in military doctrine. The state has to give money to someone and say: "Such-and-such and such-and-such must be ordered." You have to know what is needed. When should things be produced? In what quantity? In general, who is responsible for ensuring that the Army, Internal Troops, and Border Guards are provided with specific equipment and weapons. It should be created all over again. If the state destroys one thing, it should offer something else in its place.

[Chernyak] Sooner or later this merry-go-round will affect military-technical thought, and it is already affecting the economy. We used to sell weapons worth almost $40 billion, today we barely sell $3 billion-worth. But nature abhors a vacuum—we have been unceremoniously squeezed out of the world market by the Americans.

[Skokov] Yes, and here too not everything has been thought through, although the situation with regard to weapons sales is not entirely as you say. We used to sell weapons not on the world market, but to our so-called friends, whom we thought it necessary to support. All this was on credit, as it were. We had no presence in the ordinary market because we were afraid of revealing the secrets of our weapons.

The situation now is different. This too is an aspect of military doctrine—military-technical cooperation. There is a wide range of problems here—military-technical thought, pooling the efforts of peacemaking forces and participation by our Army in specific regions, and weapons sales.

[Chernyak] Yuriy Vladimirovich, you can do nothing without economic stability, but our economy is more than ailing.

[Skokov] Yes, it is ailing. We talk a great deal about economic reform. Remember when perestroyka began, two slogans were proclaimed: perestroyka and acceleration. What was meant by acceleration was the stepping up of activity in the sphere of scientific and technical progress. This is logical, because theoretically the growth created in gross national income should outstrip the growth rate in the gross product. But has anything been done in this direction?

[Chernyak] We have not even tried...

[Skokov] But we do not even remember today. That is not all. Remember the question was raised—it is nonsense from the viewpoint of political economy, but never mind—of economic accountability for territories, complete enterprise economic accountability, and, as M. Gorbachev used to say, complete cost recovery and self-financing. Did we make even the slightest progress here? No. We spoke of creating a wholesale market in means of production and material resources. Do we have one? No.

I could cite a couple of dozen of these "noes." We do nothing, but we want to have better lives.

[Chernyak] What do you mean we do nothing? We have made such a mess that even our grandchildren will not be able to straighten things out.

[Skokov] We are steering the reform in the wrong direction by basing it on a standard procedure in the Western economy—tough fiscal policy. And that is all. We have done practically nothing more, because it has been impossible to implement a restrictive monetary policy even by means of the tax system. Incidentally, there is a curious point here. When people speak of "shock therapy" and recall Poland, they forget that there "shock therapy" was implemented in conditions of the liberalization of prices and restriction of wages. This cost Balcerowicz his job, but they managed to curb the money supply. But in our country liberalization has been proclaimed and wages have been totally released. And there has been spiraling inflation.

We ought to have switched from one method of running the economy to another—from state management of the economy to decentralized management—and then to private management, where the state plays only the function of a regulator. But the state, abandoning its property to the mercy of fate, said that it would merely regulate some things. What?

Take small business. In the West it organically complements big business and helps to saturate the market with goods. The market is a balance of demand and supply, after all. If the market is oversaturated, there is overproduction. Then you get the crisis characteristic of the Western economy. Or there are shortages. Then some kind of distributive function is essential. Shortages can be avoided only through a small quantity of money, that is, by restricting incomes, but in this case this will be done by lowering working people's living standards. But when he started the reforms the president said no, they would not be at people's expense.

[Chernyak] That is mere talk; in reality living standards in the country have fallen sharply.

[Skokov] It has turned out to be at working people's expense. So in our country even small businesses have begun to arise not out of the interests of increasing the pace of production but as a means for people to obtain additional income. Cooperatives and other commercial structures mostly produce nothing, but merely resell what someone else has produced. Can they survive today? It is hard.

In the past our economy was based on close links with the former republics. Today all that has been destroyed. Nobody has any hard currency, competitiveness is low, it is hard for us to enter the world market, and anyhow people there do not particularly want to see us.

Another aspect is that financial capital is divorced from industrial capital. Commercial banks are to a great extent waxing fat on this by speculating on interest rates. Our capital is fleeing abroad, working for foreign economies.

There is speculation on the ruble's exchange rate against other currencies. Take last year, when you could get 650 rubles [R] per dollar. Over the year we produced gross product to the tune of R13 trillion. Let us convert that into dollars at last year's exchange rate—we get only $23 billion. Yet we exported many billions more in real output and we really produced coal, oil, gas, and other output worth more than $200 billion. There you have the price of this value and the result of this speculation on exchange rates.

A small group of people is getting rich at the expense of everybody. From this I draw the conclusion that we are not implementing the reforms as a means of making the transition from one qualitative state of society to another, in the name of a certain aim—increased prosperity and improved living standards for the people—but are playing a game to the benefit of a small group and are living an illusion of reform.

[Chernyak] Is this a game by politicians?

[Skokov] Of course. Today the so-called reform is being implemented at the expense of the working people.

[Chernyak] In other words, the state is being robbed.

[Skokov] I would not want to use such words, I merely want to say: National wealth was created by everyone, it was used by the state, but today the state has let go of it and a redistribution according to incomprehensible laws is under way. That cannot go on for long.

[Chernyak] Yuriy Vladimirovich, in general you have talked in detail about the concept of national security and military doctrine. I admit I personally am impressed by this. But, you will agree, unfortunately all this exists today in a vacuum, as it were, and does not affect Russians' lives, it has absolutely no influence; to be honest, I and thousands of my compatriots couldn't care less about your efforts. You too probably feel dissatisfied at having expended so much effort on creating necessary documents which have essentially been ignored. How can we ensure that they benefit people?

[Skokov] You are probably right—I was unable to convince Yeltsin that the Security Council is an effective instrument for the president to exercise the function of running the state. To my great disappointment, despite many attempts to influence the president, he never used the Security Council for its direct purpose—not as an "instrument for strong-arm pressure," but as a most important instrument for a new, really democratic, rule-of-law, federative statehood defending above all human rights and dignity. Hence also the fact that our documents have been ignored, as you say. Just think: Though there are so many problems in the country the Security Council has not met once since 16 March.

Today I have left power structures, but I have not quit politics. I will try to do everything to ensure that these documents are implemented in the future—admittedly I do not know when this will be, but I am firmly convinced it will happen. As leader of the center for interethnic, interregional economic research I am already trying together with my colleagues to utilize a great deal of what was planned. The center is supplying its proposals to republics, krays, and oblasts, and it has to be said that they are greeting them with interest.

Pacific Fleet Commander Calls For Cash Injection

LD2207142293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The big anti-submarine warfare vessel Petropavlovsk is ready to go to sea on alert to defend Russian ships if they come up against a pirate attack. However, the fleet is only doing this on the side. There needs to be a government resolution on protection of shipping. The government has been asked to do this, said Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral Georgiy Gurinov.

Over the past five months only 60 percent of what is needed to maintain the fleet has been allocated. In June-July absolutely everything went into paying the servicemen alone. The commander of the fleet expressed the hope that by its 300th anniversary—in 3 years' time—the Russian fleet would not be down to Peter the Great's little boat.

Concerning Aleksandr Rutskoy's arrival in Vladivostok, the admiral said the following:

[Gurinov] If the vice president were to fly in with a couple of sacks of money we would be pleased.

Aircraft Removal From Iturup Island 'An Internal Affair'

LD2207201793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1907 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—"All decisions on redeployment of combat aircraft in Russia are made within the framework of international commitments" is how a spokesman at the press centre of the Russian Defence Ministry on Thursday [22 July] commented, at the request of the ITAR-TASS correspondent, on Japanese press reports that MiG- 23 combat aircraft had been removed from Iturup Island (south Kurils). There are even speculations that the obsolete aircraft are being replaced by more up-to-date ones, he said.

The Russian Defence Ministry press centre spokesman expressed bewilderment as to why the news media of the neighbouring country so widely discusses a matter which is "an internal affair of Russia".

Afghan Vets Union Developing Political Agenda

PM2107110393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 2

[Mikhail Vyatkin article: "Playing the 'Afghan Card'"]

[Text] In the 1989 article "And So They Came Back..." PRAVDA raised for the first time the question of the fate of the then embryonic Union of Afghanistan Veterans [UAV]. So what has become of this organization five years on?

A political party with its own—considerable—armed forces? Or armed forces with their own political party? Add to this financial independence and a network of commercial organizations spread throughout the CIS. It is difficult to immediately comprehend what we are talking about. This is no coincidence. The UAV prefers action to self-advertisement. And action on its own, without entering into any coalitions or alliances.

Let us start by looking at the armed forces. According to the most modest estimate, their numerical strength consists of at least 350,000 well-trained and cohesive men who largely share each other's views and feelings and have undergone substantial combat training. UAV Chairman Aleksandr Kotenev has 1,200 permanently operating primary organizations under him, and not only and not so much in housing management offices

and clubs—as is the case with Great Patriotic War veterans—as at enterprises and in institutions. The UAV network includes 287 regional branches and 14 republic unions. While retaining autonomy at the oblast, kray, or republic level, they all operate on the basis of unified statutes.

If the organization's statute is to be believed, one of the UAV's objectives is to inculcate in young people and juveniles love for the motherland and readiness to defend it. To this end the Union "participates in the creation and work of military-patriotic and professional (interest) associations, clubs, and neighborhood young people's and juveniles' circles. Veterans' children are trained in oriental martial arts. Speculation that work of this kind is used as a cover for UAV activists to maintain training centers for fighters has already appeared in the press on several occasions, although concrete proof has not been adduced.

The recent conflict in Yekaterinburg showed that the "Afgantsy" are not short of forces or determination. The Union's leaders, who describe the incident as a provocation against their oblast organization, acknowledge that it required enormous efforts on their part to nip the revolt in the bud and prevent it developing it into something more serious and broader.

During the five years that the UAV has been in existence it has managed to acquire itself a powerful economic base, including 2,500 leased, joint, and other financially autonomous enterprises, its own port at Tuapse, a growing fishing fleet in Kamchatka, and a network of retail stores. A solid independent bank is being founded in Moscow.

This has made it possible to complete without excessive fuss all the objectives which the UAV originally set itself, the main one being the social adjustment and rehabilitation of the participants in the Afghan campaign of 1979-1989. The enormous funds accumulated by the Union made it possible, for example, to provide the families of dead servicemen with benefits 200-600 times greater than the state counterparts. A new stage began. While not stopping assisting veterans, commercial structures switched to providing the backup for a political action on a scale unprecedented by today's standards.

With military speed the UAV created the National Patriotic Party [NPP] headed by Aleksandr Kotenev and his comrade in arms Anatoliy Gil. During the year it has been in existence (since 6 July 1992) the NPP has opened 1,762 primary organizations in more than 50 oblasts and republics of the Russian Federation. Some 112,000 people have already joined the party. NPP sociopolitical, youth, and sports clubs are springing up everywhere. It is astonishing, but as yet the public knows extremely little about this. The Union's leaders work away without trumpeting their successes on every street corner, although extremely serious matters lie behind this silence. Unlike many parties, which consist of a couple of dozen noisy activists, what we are talking about here is a totally mature political (plus economic and military) force. And on top of everything else this force enjoys considerable respect among the people. Unlike past and present figures, the "Afgantsy" have yet to discredit themselves in any way.

Strange as it may seem, each NPP primary organization already has maps of as yet nonexistent electoral districts for elections to a new Russian parliament and has quietly begun selecting candidates, including for the country's presidency. So the "Afgantsy" are definitely seeking power. And indeed their policy documents talk directly about transforming the party into an autonomous political force and about "utilizing the UAV's experience in matters of state and making the transition from narrow corporate and intra-Union tasks to the resolution of nationwide tasks."

The NPP leadership has also addressed the hot potato of shaping a concept of a Russian national security system and a national-ethnic world view of the Russian people as the basic factor in such a system. This concept, which says a great deal about the attitudes of politicized "Afgantsy," is also not known to the public at large, incidentally.

A question of considerable importance arises here: On whose side will this unknown "second wave" of new Russian politicians end up in the intensified power struggle?

UAV and NPP leaders laugh when asked this kind of question. Many people have attempted to exercise control over the "Afgantsy," from Vice President Rutskoy to numerous "pygmy politicians" of every possible stripe. All proposals for coalitions have gone unanswered, and this cannot fail to make one wary.

On the one hand Aleksandr Kotenev's sympathizers reject what they describe as "a return to the communist past." But at the same time they find many reasons for criticizing the activity of the present "democrats" in the government. While declaring (with reservations) a policy of support for President Yeltsin at the present stage, at the same time the UAV and the NPP have not opted for an alliance with the political structures of the so-called "presidential party" and have kept aloof.

There are many too many question marks in these observations. But there is one more, nevertheless: How will the "Afghan card" be played in the course of the final collapse of the bankrupt presidential team's socioeconomic ventures? It seems that people in the Kremlin are counting on it as a life belt in a desperate situation.

Editorial Note: M. Vyatkin's pretty controversial article does indeed contain more questions than answers. We therefore suggest that UAV Chairman Aleksandr Kotenev "remove" the question marks. PRAVDA is prepared to make its pages available for an account of the UAV's activity.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov, Stepankov Discuss Shumeyko's Immunity

LD2207202093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The POSTFACTUM agency has just reported that a meeting took place this evening in the Supreme Soviet between Procurator General Stepankov and Ruslan Khasbulatov. It is conjectured that they discussed the removal of parliamentary immunity from Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko at tomorrow's session. This would subsequently make it possible for him to be arrested.

Parliament Agrees to Proceedings Against Shumeyko

LD2307070293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0653 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—Today, the Russian Supreme Soviet gave its agreement to the institution of criminal proceedings against Russian Government First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, former Russian Federation people's deputy.

Stepankov Cites 'Signs of Misconduct'

LD2307092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0739 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By CRIMEA-PRESS Nikolay Semenenko]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—The Russian Supreme Soviet has agreed to the institution of criminal proceedings against Vladimir Shumeyko, Russian Government first deputy prime minister and former Russian Federation deputy. Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov petitioned parliament today on this matter. According to Stepankov, signs of misconduct in office are detectable in Shumeyko's actions, and these can be disproved or proven only during a preliminary investigation.

Stepankov reported that a Russian procuracy special commission for the investigation of materials connected to corruption among officials instituted criminal proceedings on 22 June 1993 with regard to incidents of theft and abuses in the expenditure of state resources. It was established that, in violation of Russian Federation Presidential Decree No. 335, the foreign economic association "VAMO"—created under the Moscow Oblast administration—concluded a contract with the "Telamond Ltd." company for the supply of children's food in exchange for hard currency. Shumeyko, at that time deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and a people's deputy, issued a written instruction to "Rosagrokhim" General Director Olshanskiy to pay for this contract. Fourteen and a half million U.S. dollars were transferred to the Swiss company's account. The contract has still not been fulfilled, and the foreign currency has been used by foreign companies in their own interests.

In addition to this, Shumeyko instructed Olshanskiy in June 1992 to transfer a flat in Monaco worth 29.5 million French francs belonging to "Rosagrokhim" to "VAMO", as company capital for a joint stock-share company formed jointly with a foreign company. As a result, state property left the control of the Russian Federation. Due to the fact that Shumeyko was a Russian people's deputy when these actions were carried out, the issue of instituting criminal proceedings against him could be resolved only with the agreement of the Supreme Soviet. There were 158 deputies who voted in favor of agreeing to instituting proceedings, 10 voted against, and eight abstained.

Shumeyko Aide on 'Dirty Methods'

LD2307103593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Vladimir Shumeyko's press secretary Grigoriy Bukhvalov has qualified the decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet today as an attempt to destroy a political opponent. Justice as it is being practiced by Mister Stepankov is a one-way process, Bukhvalov stated. His approach to law is selective, depending on where the people are—in the Kremlin or in the White House. The adopted decision is just another demonstration of the dirty methods being used for political struggle, stressed the spokesman. In Grigoriy Bukhvalov's opinion, yesterday's action against Mikhail Poltoranin also demonstrates that the parliament is not such a stronghold of justice as it tries to present itself.

Further on Aide's Comment

LD2307092693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0833 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By Ivan Ivanov, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 23 July— "How can one talk about the legitimacy of the legislative authority, in a situation in which the Supreme Soviet does nothing, when in possession of materials about the rather murky commercial activities of the vice president, and does not deal either with the issue of the vice president's criticism of the president, as is the custom in the civilized world; in a situation in which a rigmarole is organized to carry out a search of the study of the Federal Information Center director?" This was the reply by Grigoriy Bukhvalov, Vladimir Shumeyko's press secretary, to an ITAR-TASS correspondent's request for comment on today's decision by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to give its consent to institute criminal proceedings against the first deputy prime minister and the former people's deputy of Russia.

Yeltsin Urged To Consider Sacking Yerin, Luzhkov

LD2307105693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Russia's Supreme Soviet today passed a decision in which it proposed to President Boris Yeltsin that he examine the question of the removal from his post of Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin and head of the Moscow Administration Yuriy Luzhkov.

Just prior to this the Parliament had expressed agreement with the conclusions of the special commission of the Supreme Soviet for the investigation of the May Day 1993 events in Moscow which had come to the conclusion that the leaders and officials of the president's administration, the Moscow administration, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the capital's GUVD [chief internal affairs directorate] and the OVD [internal affairs department], and the Internal Affairs Ministry's internal troops, had violated the constitutional and legal norms of the Russian Federation.

The degree of the liability of the citizens involved will be established in the course of an investigation.

Parliament Restricts Access to Intelligence Archives

LD2307083393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0744 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—The Russian parliament today extended by another 20 years restrictions on access to the archives related to the external intelligence activity containing confidential information protected by law.

The decision, prompted by the upcoming expiry of the earlier established 30-year limit, makes restrictions embrace a total of fifty years.

Khasbulatov Closes 23 Jul Parliament Session

LD2307123593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1229 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—In his closing speech at the parliament session here today, Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov stressed that the parliament was closing for vacations in a complex situation. "Abrupt turns in the development of the political situation are not ruled out. And the parliament must be prepared for them," he said.

"We must keep an eye on the situation and have an organizing centre," Khasbulatov said, adding that such a centre existed already. The parliament's committees and commissions and its presidium will continue to work, he said.

Khasbulatov called for a time-table to be drawn up and parliament members to get ready to resume the performance of their duties without further warning should the situation become aggravated and gather together for an immediate response to possible complications.

He said a month-long vacation recess was ahead and the date on which the parliament will reconvene will be announced later.

Khasbulatov Meets With Intelligentsia 22 Jul

Criticizes Kozyrev, Troops in Tajikistan

LD2207141093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Society's main task today is to defend parliament, to defend the Congress, and to live in accordance with the Constitution and then we will have a national policy, said Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of Russia's parliament, at a meeting with the intelligentsia today. The theme of the discussion can be defined as this—where is Russia going? He talked about Russian science, the economy, foreign policy, and the country's spiritual side. The speaker believes that the former USSR republics and the former CMEA countries should be a priority in foreign policy. Talking about the Sevastopol situation, Khasbulatov is inclined to resolve this problem by peaceful means.

Assessing the events on the Tajik-Afghan border, the speaker retains doubts that Russian troops need to be kept there. Talking about the activity of Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Khasbulatov believes him to be a man who had damaged the country's foreign policy status.

The parliament's chairman was also negative about the electronic mass media, noting that they should be serving the people.

Pledges Larger Budget for Science

LD2207125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1235 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov met Russian intellectuals in the parliamentary centre in Moscow on Thursday [22 July] to discuss problems facing science, education and medicine in Russia.

Khasbulatov spoke about the absence of spirituality in society and the "imposition of counterculture". He lashed out at the electronic mass media. "We have no

right to put up with such mass media. They have to be either closed down or put to the people's service," the speaker said.

Speaking about the possible development of the political situation in the country this year, Khasbulatov said any forecasts are being hindered by "serious destabilisers in society" such as the April referendum and the "infamous constitutional assembly with unclear results."

Khasbulatov noted that there are signs of accord in society as far as economic reforms are concerned. He believes it is "silly to say that there are large forces opposing reforms."

The participants in the meeting also focused on the brain drain in Russia. Academician Oleg Belotserkovskiy said that "science has been destroyed together with the military-industrial complex." "Let's say frankly: Science today is unwanted, science and business are incompatible. Academicians are slowly dying. Only young fanatics devote their life to science, while representatives of the middle-aged generation are leaving," he regretted.

Khasbulatov assured the participants that the parliament would defend the interests of Russian science, culture, education and medicine and press for larger budget allocations to support them.

More Reaction to Suspension of Privatization Decree

Chernomyrdin Aide Cited

MK2207121093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Andrey Semenov report: "Chubays 'Reproached.' Chernomyrdin Jumps Into the Saddle of Privatization"]

[Excerpts] And all that is because Privatizer of All Russias Anatoliy Chubays had for a long time ignored the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's recommendations made on the basis of the 1992 privatization program results. Besides, in the words of Vladimir Mazayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's commission for economic reform, Chubays seemed to have monopolized the right to decide the fate of the Russian economy. The Russian Government did not submit to the Supreme Soviet any state privatization program for 1993, and the president's edict in May (Edict No. 640 "On State Guarantees of the Rights of Citizens of Russia to Participate in Privatization."—A.S.) is a substitute for this program, and is in fact interference in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's jurisdiction. [passage omitted]

Chubays has been punished for disobedience, while an alliance between Khasbulatov and Chernomyrdin has become too conspicuous. [passage omitted]

A comment from A. Yevstafyev, press secretary of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman. "The decisions made by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet are a carefully planned attempt to scuttle privatization, the linchpin of economic reform. There is an evident attempt to revive the nomenklatura-based economic system.

"The resolutions were drafted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium in secret. Neither the government nor the State Committee for the Management of State Property had been asked to attend their discussion. More, discussion of the question at a session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet took place one hour earlier than planned in order to preempt the presence in it of State Committee for the Management of State Property representatives. There exist in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet some other drafts that envision the replacement of privatization checks with registered privatization accounts, and the putting on hold of the State privatization program for 1993."

These actions are way beyond normal political ethics. The interests of tens of millions of people who have put their faith in privatization are now being sacrificed to indulge the interests of the Supreme Soviet chiefs and the implacable opposition that stands behind them. In this connection, the State Committee for the Management of State Property of the Russian Federation will be taking all the necessary measures in the near future to protect the legitimate interests of the country's citizens.

Officials React to Decision

MK2207110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report under the "Parliament" rubric: "Property Restored to Soviets. Chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property Doubts It"]

[Excerpts] In the wake of the suspension of Yeltsin's edict "On Guarantees of the Rights of Citizens of Russia to Participation in Privatization" and an appeal to the Constitutional Court to see to which degree it corresponds to the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet passed a decree yesterday that alters the powers of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. [passage omitted]

At any rate, Anatoliy Chubays believes that the decree will not have any dramatic consequences whereas the State Committee for the Management of State Property has already drawn up measures to neutralize it. Mr. Chubays declined to reveal their details, asking for a few days before doing so. He was also confident that even if supporters of the Supreme Soviet's decree turn up also in the government, they would share the fate of Messrs. Titkin and Khizha, who held such views. [passage omitted]

Hot on the heels of the decree, Vladimir Mazayev, chairman of the Commission on Economic Reform, held a press conference to explain that the Supreme Soviet

was not halting privatization at all by suspending the edict; neither did its abolition signify a taking away from the State Committee for the Management of State Property of its exclusive right to control and manage federal property. Mr. Mazayev also stated that no drafts of any documents abolishing privatization vouchers had been through any Supreme Soviet structures. In his words, there exist several theories on what citizens can do with their privatization checks after the 31 December deadline. The first theory is that the deadline should be extended for another three years; the second is that those who have used their vouchers should be permitted to transfer them to registered privatization accounts. Mr. Mazayev said this problem will probably be discussed by the economic conference opening on 27 July.

'Purely Political Attack'

PM2207122593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Igor Karpenko: "Check or Account? Parliament's New Attack on Privatization"]

[Text] Attempts to slow down or halt the privatization process and, with it, economic reform in Russia have been made repeatedly by some Russian Federation Supreme Soviet deputies. It is sufficient to recall even the well-known parliamentary discussions on the "fourth option" regarding privatization, the priority of labor collectives, the indexation of property values, and so forth. This latest attempt by the Supreme Soviet Presidium is basically the same: To change the "rules of the game" halfway through, wreck the social compromise reached in 1992 at the start of "large-scale" check privatization, prompt a new round of sociopolitical debate, and exacerbate the situation in the country, which will inevitably slow down reform in the end. That, actually, is the aim of its opponents.

The concern of the public and the mass media has been aroused by two draft resolutions signed by Ruslan Khasbulatov: "On Verifying the Constitutionality of the Russian Federation President's Decree No. 640 of 8 May 1993 'On State Guarantees of Russian Citizens' Right to Participate in Privatization'" and "On Introducing a System of Personal Privatization Accounts."

The first resolution will suspend presidential decree No. 640, which defines the norms for using checks at auctions, measures to speed up privatization, and the liability of officials at central and local level for impeding the process. Obviously, the latter does not suit those who support an administrative edict system, as, in addition to state property, they are also losing power and the right to existence.

The second draft resolution simply destroys everything that has been achieved with such great difficulty by check privatization with regard to forming a securities market. The idea of privatization accounts is not new: A Law on Accounts was even passed at one stage, but reality forced it to be abandoned. This is what Dmitriy Vasilyev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, has to say on the subject:

"At one time, the idea of transferring property to the population free of charge was linked to the Law on Privatization Accounts. This law never really came into force, and then it was replaced by the decree on privatization checks. This was the result of purely pragmatic aims and analysis of specific circumstances. The destruction of the system of payments in Russia, when even ordinary reciprocal payments between enterprises are drawn out over long periods, lost altogether, or honored with enormous difficulty, made the operation of privatization accounts unrealistic. If we had added 150 million current account holders to the general confusion, paralysis of the monetary system would have been inevitable. In addition, simply fantastic opportunities for all kinds of financial intrigues with accounts—as illustrated by the example of the fake 'Chechen advice notes'—were opening up as a result of our unregulated relations. But the main point is that it would have delayed all payments—and privatization too—for a long time, which would have been economically and socially undesirable, of course. Consequently, it was decided to replace the account with privatization checks, which basically fulfil the same function and, it is true, are 'bearer securities'...."

Of course, all this is well known to those who drew up the draft resolution, which revives the idea of personal privatization accounts; they must also be aware of the senselessness of indexing property or checks. It is impossible to believe that they do not know what they are doing, when their "document" will doom 400 investment funds to bankruptcy and provoke a social uprising among voucher holders who have not had time to convert their vouchers into cash—still a good one-half of Russia's population. The transfer of all functions in the privatization sphere to their "own" subdivisions—property management funds—which basically means the elimination of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, and the fact that parliament is once again trying to claim absolute power and appropriate rights and functions which are the prerogative of the executive power appear mere pinpricks by comparison.

However, it is not parliament that is trying to claim absolute power at the moment, but its Presidium and R. Khasbulatov. There is still hope that deputies will have sufficient commonsense to stand in the way of this purely political attack, which is very far removed from the economy's interests, and prevent a new wave of confrontation and chaos in Russia.

It is just a pity that this latest action will in any case inevitably affect the reform process and once again undermine people's confidence in the still shaky privatization check and investment funds and their faith in stabilization and beneficial changes. If this was also the aim of those who drew up these sorry draft resolutions, it has perhaps been achieved....

Further on Privatization Debates

PM2207142193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksey Vorobyev report: "Sixth Supreme Soviet Session: Privatization Not Being Suspended"]

[Text] As reported by our newspaper, parliament adopted a number of very important draft laws at its daytime plenary session on Tuesday, 20 July. Equally important ones were discussed at the evening session.

"The situation concerning housing provision for servicemen has sharply deteriorated of late, and by the end of the current year around 330,000 military families in the country will be without their own living space," stated Deputy Minister of the Economy I. Materov when presenting the 1993-1995 State Program for the Provision of Housing for Servicemen Discharged into the Reserve or Retired from Military Service, Staffers of the Organs of Internal Services, and Members of Their Families.

A Defense Ministry representative added that service families in all garrisons and military camps are looking forward to the launch of the program, which will, among other things, help bring about the success of military reform. Parliamentarians approved the proposed document without discussion.

V. Mazayev, chairman of the Commission for Economic Reform, then told deputies about the current situation concerning the president's edict No. 640 "On State Guarantees of the Right of Citizens of Russia To Participate in Privatization." The point is that, despite parliamentarians' repeated requests, the State Committee for the Management of State Property had simply failed to submit the privatization program for 1993 on time. Instead there had appeared the aforementioned presidential edict, which does not take account of the Supreme Soviet's demands for modification of the course of privatization. Moreover, the president clearly exceeds by this document the powers granted him by the Russian Constitution and existing legislation. In this regard deputies adopted a decree petitioning the Constitutional Court to verify the constitutionality of the president's edict No. 640 with a view to the possible suspension of its operation.

The decision proposed by parliament on the next item, which was also connected with privatization, proved even more radical. Deputies discussed a Supreme Soviet decree amending their decree of 27 December 1991, which talks about the division of state property into federal property and the property of the components of the Federation and about the procedure for the management of items of federal property on the territory of Russia.

This in no way involves the suspension of the privatization program or the abolition of vouchers, which—at the the prompting of the State Committee for the Management of State Property—certain mass media organizations so loudly rushed to trumpet. On the contrary, the Supreme Soviet is ready to maintain and develop privatization and advocates the retention of the voucher system, as was stressed at the session, and all rumors about abolishing them are sheer disinformation.

The main point in the decree proposed by the deputies, however, is the transfer of the powers for the control and management of federal property from the monopolist State Committee for the Management of State Property to a collective body—the Russian Federation Government. Scope for more effective management of federal property is thus created, in the opinion of the Commission for Economic Reform.

A most interesting feature is that Anatoliy Chubays, who had rushed to the session, agreed that under the law the representative power determines to whom it transfers powers for the management of property, but flatly rejected such a decision, regarding it as an attempt to revive a key element of the administrative edict system—ministries which will start managing property. However, in response Deputy S. Polozkov noted that, given that Chubays had acknowledged considerable shortcomings in the work of his department, parliament by its decision to transfer the powers of the State Committee for the Management of State Property to the Cabinet of Ministers is effectively extending him a helping hand.

True, the draft decree proposed by the deputies failed to be adopted: Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman N. Ryabov, who intervened in the discussion, introduced a number of amendments which required additional agreement in the Commission for Economic Reform. The final decision was therefore deferred to the next session.

At the end of the day the deputies adopted the decree "On Work on the New Draft Constitution," which had been discussed earlier and finalized in the light of comments.

Yeltsin Amendment on International Treaties Rejected

LD2207140293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet rejected this morning rejected the proposal from deputies Ryabov and Kopeika to return to the Sevastopol issue. The law on international treaties of the Russian Federation, which has been brought back by the president, was then considered. The president was asking for an article in accordance with which the Supreme Soviet has the right independently to denounce any treaty, even one already ratified, or to be removed. Deputy Foreign Minister

Churkin, keeping within the proper limits, essentially desperately asked the deputies not to undermine foreign partners' trust in Russia.

[Begin Churkin recording] It is the executive which concludes an international treaty, the legislature ratifies it, but it is implemented by the executive. How is it possible for such vital issues as the rejection of treaties to be decided without the knowledge of the executive power? It will be dangerous to conclude an international treaty with us, because nobody will want to be in the situation whereby a treaty is ratified, but a day later it turns out that this treaty is not valid. [end recording]

Nonetheless, the president's amendment was turned down. However, deputies Ambartsumov and Dzasokhov did convince the hall of the importance of the issue, and a coordinating group will be working up to the final passage of the decision.

Churkin Cited on Amendment

LD2207211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1759 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister, urged Russian parliamentarians not to take out the chaos caused by the internal political struggle in Russia, to the international arena. He spoke today as an official representative of the president of the Russian Federation in parliament which was considering a draft law "on international treaties of the Russian Federation".

The letter sent by Boris Yeltsin to Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov says that this draft law adopted by the Supreme Soviet at the second reading, is "contradictory in its contents and does not meet the needs of the treaty practice." This concerned those clauses of the draft law in which the Supreme Soviet codified new for world legislation standards on authority of the federal representative power and the Constitutional Court concerning the conclusion, suspension and denunciation of international treaties.

"Members of the international community must be confident that Russia is a reliable partner" and strictly fulfills its obligations, Vitaliy Churkin stressed. This can be possible, the deputy foreign minister believes, if the state as a whole, but not some of the power branches, be it executive, legislative or judicial one, acts as a subject of international law.

Vitaliy Churkin consistently insisted that the Supreme Soviet adopt the president's amendments to the draft law under consideration which would limit the established by the bill extended rights of the federal representative power concerning Russia's international treaties.

Especially heated discussion was brought about by the president's "sixth" amendment which the parliament at first intended to turn down. In this amendment Boris Yeltsin insisted on excluding from the draft law a provision saying that "in accordance with standards of international law and international obligations of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has the right to independently consider a question about a cessation (denunciation) and suspension of any international treaty."

Substantiating the president's position, Vitaliy Churkin tried to convince deputies that by rejecting this amendment, the parliament will bring the whole matter to the point that Russia "will become a hostage of the internal political struggle also in the international sphere."

Then the course of discussion was directed at searching for a compromise. This happened after people's deputy Aleksandr Dzasokhov spoke and convinced his colleagues to give up the "confrontation formulation of the question" and not create by ill-considered actions "force major circumstances" in the field of Russia's international relations.

The deputies adjourned the consideration of this issue, and after a two-hour meeting of representatives of the president and the parliament made a decision, in accordance with the rules of work of the Supreme Soviet, to suggest that the president "reformulate his amendments" so that retaining their main orientation, to bring them into line with the existing legislation.

The draft law is expected to be returned to the parliament before August 1.

Troop Commander Cited on Border Reinforcement

LD2207201393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Measures to reinforce the border detachment on the Tajik-Afghan border are being completed today, said Vladimir Shlyakhtin, commander of the border troops, in the Russian Parliament today. Most attention is being paid to 28 posts on a 500-km long sector of the border. Reinforcement is being carried out by subunits from the Tajikistan Defense Ministry and the Russian 201st Motor Rifle Division.

Deputies Criticize Defense Committee Proceedings

LD2307052193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Another conflict in the White House has come to a head. A group of left-wing People's Deputies has stated that the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security is unable to adequately express that body's stance on the state's defense policy. Here is our correspondent Eduard Mendeleyev with the details.

[Mendeleyev] The statement was signed by People's Deputies Baburin, Astafyev, Urazhstev, and others.

They accused Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the defense and security committee, of major political and professional mistakes. Here are just a few of them and I quote: No program for setting up Russia's Armed Forces has been drawn up; the reform of the Army has collapsed and turned into indiscriminate reductions; violations of legality in the Defense Ministry are passed over in silence. End quote.

The Defense and Security Committee itself received the statement quite calmly. In an exclusive interview with the Russian Television and Radio Company, Sergey Stepashin said the following:

[Begin Stepashin recording] [passage omitted] This statement in the form and nature of its presentation and in its content recalls the worst versions of the libels of 1937. In this connection, as a citizen, as a People's Deputy, a military man, and chairman of a committee, I have been obliged to call on the Procuracy of the Russian Federation to investigate this case. Today I had a conversation with the procurator general. He took our statement for further consideration and will take the appropriate decision. [end recording]

Parliament Approves Defense Expenditures

PM2207124793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Vladimir Maryukhov article under the "Events and Commentary" rubric: "Supreme Soviet Adopts Decision on Financing Black Sea Fleet. Amendments to 1993 Budget Double Its Deficit But That Is Not the Military's Fault"]

[Text] The state, in the person of parliament, has apparently decided to show maximum attention to its protectors by approving defense expenditure of 8,011,162 million rubles [R]. When this is added to other amendments which increase the expenditure element parliament has thus, in the opinion of experts, taken the Russian budget deficit to R25-30 trillion. In these conditions will the Russian Federation Government cope with the commitments it has assumed to extricate the country from the crisis? And will the Russian president agree to the rigid framework into which parliament's decision is putting his team?

It must be understood that the deputies' current decision to approve such substantial expenditure was largely dictated by the Supreme Soviet's commitment to the laws and decrees previously adopted by it, including the Law "On Servicemen's Status." An example of providing financial resources for "parliamentary" items of expenditure is the decision to finance the Black Sea Fleet. This will cost Russia R78 billion, which is not included in defense expenditure.

Furthermore, as Aleksandr Piskunov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense Questions, explained, defense expenditure accounts for less than one-half of the budget deficit (at the beginning of the year this deficit was approximately equal to the defense budget). This means that we simply cannot maintain a single soldier, doctor, or teacher on the state's income. But this does not mean that we have to economize on them—the sources of the leak of state resources lie in other expenditure and unreceived income.

Following a decline that continued for several years, defense expenditure has now been fixed at approximately the 20-percent mark—that is last year's level. The main increase in expenditure—around R2 trillion—will be the financing of the Law "On Servicemen's Status," which was not taken into account when the budget was formulated at the beginning of the year. Expenditure on arms procurement was indexed at a level of 2.1—as was expenditure on other budget items. At the same time real prices for defense enterprises' output have increased three- or fourfold compared with civilian output. Thus, the volumes of ordered defense output are miserly, making it possible only to remove the social tension in regions full of defense complex enterprises.

In Piskunov's opinion the approved defense expenditure is not liable to be reduced. At least the Finance Ministry, which insisted at the beginning of the budget discussion on a sum of around R6 trillion, has confirmed in writing its readiness to bear the approved expenditure, while in preliminary consultations the Russian Federation prime minister and president also advocated that the state meet its commitments to servicemen.

Top State Officials Receive 40% Pay Raise

PM2307103593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 1

[Boris Soldatenko report under the "From Our Newsdesk" rubric: "Russian State Leaders Receive Salary Increment"]

[Text] On 21 July the Russian Supreme Soviet adopted a decree prescribing a 40-percent monthly length-of-service increment to the salaries of the Russian Federation president, Supreme Soviet chairman, vice president, and Constitutional Court chairman as of 1 September this year.

This decision was adopted by deputies following Viktor Chernomyrdin's request to the Supreme Soviet. But the provision regarding the Constitutional Court chairman was inserted in the document by the deputies themselves.

Parliament Approves 1993 Budget

LD2207125293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Almost seven months into the year, the Russian Parliament has finally approved the budget. In accordance with clarified figures, the budget deficit will exceed 22 trillion rubles.

Also today the deputies are to listen to a report by Russian Security Minister Barannikov on the Tajik-Afghan border situation.

Decision Passed To Ensure Success of Harvest

LD2207140093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0605 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has passed a decision on urgent measures to ensure the success of the 1993 harvest. The document instructs the Russian Government to grant agrarian workers centralized credit resources totalling 1.3 trillion rubles, and also, within a week, to set the lower guaranteed level of the grain procurement price. It is proposed that the Ministry of Finances grant preferential loan terms to the agro-industrial complex and to compensate commercial banks for the difference between the discount and preferential interest rates before 1 August.

Parliament Decree on 1993 Harvest Published

PM2307122193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Decree No. 5454-1 of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On Urgent Measures To Provide Backup for Harvesting Work in 1993," dated 16 July 1993, Russian House of Soviets, Moscow and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] There is a real prospect of a pretty good harvest of grain and other agricultural crops this year.

But work on procuring feed, bringing in the harvest, and purchasing agricultural products for state resources is being hampered by the extremely difficult financial position most agricultural enterprises and peasant (private) farms find themselves in.

Budget appropriations earmarked for the development of the agro-industrial complex are not being promptly and fully transferred to farms; procurement, trade, and processing enterprises are slow to settle accounts with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and peasant (private) farms for products they have obtained from them; the question of funds for purchasing and the price of grain and other types of agricultural products for state resources has not yet been resolved; compensation is not being paid for different interest rates on preferential credits.

In order to ensure well-organized harvest work and create the requisite food resources the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees that:

1. In accordance with the budget allotments envisaged by the Russian Federation law "On the Russian Federation Republic Budget for 1993," the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to make up before 1 August 1993 the budget shortfall in the financing of the agro-industrial complex which occurred in the first half of 1993.

2. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and Russian Federation Central Bank are to allocate in the third quarter of 1993 preferential centralized credit resources for producers of agricultural products in the sum of 1.3 trillion rubles [R].

3. The Russian Federation Finance Ministry and Russian Federation Central Bank, in accordance with Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree No. 4408-1 of 29 January 1993, are to provide preferential credits for the agro-industrial complex and are to compensate commercial banks for the difference between discount and preferential rates before 1 August.

It is to be noted that the Russian Federation Central Bank has failed to implement the section of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree No. 4516-1 of 18 February 1993 relating to the transfer to the Russian Federation republic budget of half of the transaction profit to subsidize interest on bank credits issued to enterprises, organizations, and farms in the agro-induistrial complex.

The Russian Federation Central Bank is to cancel the directive to territorial administrations on discontinuing cash and setlement services for commercial banks whose correspondent accounts are in debit through the fault of the Russian Federation Central Bank.

4. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and Russian Federation Central Bank are instructed to examine within two weeks the state of transactions between producers of agricultural products and procurement and processing enterprises and establish a procedure for the settlement of accounts, with a view to introducing payment for products on a collection basis.

Industrial enterprises are to be recommended to deliver industrial-engineering products to agricultural commodity producers without the obligatory condition of prepayment.

5. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, in accordance with the Russian Federation law "On Grain," has one week to agree with the organs of executive authority in the Russian Federation republics, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, and oblasts and representatives of public associations expressing the interests of grain producers and consumers, to establish, and to inform all interested parties of the bottom guaranteed level of purchase prices for grain.

The question of allocating financial resources for 1993 purchases of grain, oilseeds, and other agricultural products required for the formation of federal and regional food stocks from kolkhozes, sovkhozes, peasant (private) farms and other organizations of agricultural commodity producers is to be resolved without delay.

The requisite appropriations to cover the costs envisaged by the Russian Federation law "On Grain" are to be

provided for in the Russian Federation republic budget when the indicators are adjusted.

6. The Russian Federation Defense Ministry is to be authorized to implement a draft for two months to ensure the involvement of reserve servicemen in agricultural work.

7. The Supreme Soviets of Russian Federation republics and soviets of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs are to be recommended to give every assistance in ensuring prompt and well-organized harvest work and the acquisition of extra manpower and transport.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Russian House of Soviets, Moscow, 16 July 1993

Regional Affairs

Rutskoy 'Trying Out His Views' in Far East

PM2207130193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Valeriy Golovin report: "Vice President Awaits H-Hour. Aleksandr Rutskoy's Far East Trip"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—While President B. Yeltsin is fishing in Valday, his opponents are engaged in vigorous action. This is clearly indicated by the Supreme Soviet's latest steps to effectively suspend privatization in the country, revise the Law on the Press, and create their own financial reserve, which is tantamount to appropriating the functions of the executive power. Plenty of other highly significant decisions have been adopted.

While in the Far East, A. Rutskoy is trying out his views of the Russia of today and the future on the residents of "our" country, views that do, moreover, fully coincide with parliament's decisions and actions. This tryout has nothing to do with formal "approval," but with assessing the chances of his coming election campaign. Hence the statements regarding all topical issues in Russian domestic and foreign policy, relations with the president, and his possible running for the post.

The main purpose of Aleksandr Rutskoy's trip to the Far East, as he himself repeatedly stressed during his countless statements in Blagoveshchensk and Khabarovsk, is to study public opinion. But Aleksandr Vladimirovich is clearly being slippery. After all, he spent least time listening to anyone and more time speaking himself. Regarding his view of the state system and his attitude to the crisis phenomena in our society, invariably underlining that the president and the government are to blame for all Russia's past and present shortcomings.

His speeches were not notable for their diversity. Repeating the same ideas, he did not even notice his changing audience. It was quite obvious that Rutskoy is a very long way from wanting to find out how the residents of Russia's eastern areas live and what they think.

Everyone who spoke to the vice president this week heard, for instance, that he is currently shaping a "people's program" to extricate the country from crisis. It turns out that we had no need at all for the referendum or all the emotion over the draft new constitution since it is "far removed from people's urgent concerns and true democracy." He frequently assured his audience that public consciousness in Russia has already matured and H-hour is about to arrive. In military vocabulary that means the time for resolute action.

As for the practical side of Rutskoy's costly trip, neither private farmer Yuriy Bardeyev nor "Zarya" Sovkhoz Director Valeriy Selikhov, with whom he tried to talk, considered him an expert on agriculture.

And, naturally, there is the question of the need for such costly trips, which at this tricky time bring nothing but more expense and an increase in political confrontation. Was it really worth going to the Far East for the "cultural program" in the border village of Kazakevichevo, which the military were said to have organized for the vice premier [as published]. So the propaganda "electioneering" nature of Rutskoy's Far East trip is obvious although he himself repeatedly denied it. In his long discourses Aleksandr Vladimirovich did, of course, particularly focus on the now fashionable topic of regional sovereignization. And what rural dweller would not be very grateful to the vice president when he learns that the latter is particularly fond of guinea fowl and Spanish and Netherlands hens.

After visiting Khabarovsk R. Rutskoy set off for Komsomolsk-na-Amur. He also intends to visit Vladivostok by the end of the week. One thing alone worries many Far East residents: What benefit do they derive from this?

Visits Su-27 Production Plant

OW2207125593 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy, the vice president of Russia, arrived in Komsomolsk-Na-Amur yesterday and began acquainting himself with the defense complex of the city—the Aviation Production Association. The aircraft builders showed him their principle production and the latest modifications to the Su-27 supersonic fighter. They have been ready for production for a long time, however, orders have declined sharply. At the same time, they do not have permission to sell aircraft abroad. From the beginning of this year the Russian Government has not allocated credits to the enterprise. The collective continues to survive on the remainder of the money earned from the sale of a batch of fighters to China.

The vice president gave a high assessment of the military equipment and noted that the enterprise, which possesses excellent engineering and technical capacity and produces high class fighters, must not shut down established production, and has the right to count on government support.

Warns of Russia's 'Disappearance'

LD2307125693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1024 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Vinogradov]

[Text] Vladivostok July 23 TASS—"Sovereignisation of regions can lead to a complete disappearance of the Russian state and an emergence of 50 or 60 state-territorial entities in its place," said Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy in Vladivostok on Friday [23 July], addressing chairmen of city and district councils in the maritime territory.

The vice-president commented on attempts by some to create a sovereign maritime republic. "It is out of question to discuss surrendering even an inch of Russian land to other states," he stressed, turning to the problem of Kuril Islands.

Rutskoy said that the aim of his trip to the Far East is to study public opinion on the situation in the country and to look for ways of reviving the Russian economy. "Munitions factories and the Russian Army are in a state of collapse", he claimed.

He instanced as an example two Far Eastern factories building advanced submarines. According to the vice-president, the factories were forced to dismantle their stocks for building warships which "would be readily bought by many countries in Southeast Asia".

Soskovets Says Government Measures 'Not Consistent'

LD2307101393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Stabilizing production and normalizing financial and credit and money circulation constitute conditions for taking Russia out of the crisis, Oleg Soskovets, deputy head of the Russian Government, said at a regional conference which has opened in Perm. The conference is attended by leaders of Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, federal ministries and departments, and major enterprises of the Urals region. At the same time, according to ITAR-TASS, Oleg Soskovets admitted in his speech that the measures the government is currently taking are not consistent. In particularly, it has failed so far to curb the high inflation which considerably frustrates reforms.

Deputy Prime Minister on Constitution System

WS2307090093 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian No 134, 6 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray by correspondent N. Borovskaya under the "Urgent Interview" rubric: "Sergey Shakhray: 'I Have Enough Stamina and Self-Possession'"]

[Text] As is known, Russian Vice Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray conducted a two-day visit to Kaliningrad to take part in the meeting of the Coordinative Council of the Regional Association "The North-West of Russia."

It is natural that we wanted to take this opportunity to familiarize our readers with this personality.

[Borovskaya] First of all, about the constitutional process, about how one of its initiators sees it.

[Shakhray] I suppose that if the constitutional process fails, in late fall Russia may have its own Colonel Guseynov who will march through the entire country from Rostov to Kaliningrad without noticing Lithuania on his way, and will demand the termination of chaos, disorder, and anarchy. Such a logical sequence is quite obvious to me, although you may either agree or disagree with me.

A country like Russia with its 100-percent state property needs a strong state power to effectively implement economic reform. To this end, we must overcome the existing diarchy. The current Constitution permits two different types of state system: a Soviet republic and a democratic presidential republic. This results in the paralysis of power.

Diarchy cannot last forever. The vacuum of state power must be urgently filled with something. We know three possible options from our history: The new power emerges from the chaos of civil war; the new power is imposed through a state coup; or the new power comes through elections, accord, and compromise. You can see for yourself that the first two options are unacceptable. To overcome diarchy, we must change the political elite during the elections rather than using barricades. In order to hold such elections, we need a constitution or a law on the transitional period. The circle closes here. Reform, the formation of a new legislature, and the overcoming of diarchy—all these things require a Constitution.

[Borovskaya] What is the current arrangement of political forces?

[Shakhray] I see two levels here: Federative and regional, and social. On the first level, the arrangement of forces is quite conservative at the expense of the people's deputies in the center and the regions. These forces will do everything to prevent the adoption of the new constitution and the new elections.

The referendum revealed the arrangement of forces in society. Fear and the reluctance to return to the past may have played their part for the last time. However, the arrangement of forces in society has always been dynamic. The current situation is completely different, to say nothing of the one that may come in the fall.

I think that the process of adopting the constitution runs like this: There must be one text for publicizing and submitting to the regions for their approval. Only the opinions of all the regions can force the congress either to adopt the constitution (which is unlikely) or the law on the transitional period (which is more likely), or to submit this issue to a referendum. I assume, however, that the fate of the draft constitution in the regions may be unenviable.

In my opinion, the idea of the Constituent Congress will not work by itself alone. However, this idea can be united with the one about a provisional legislature that would solve tactical tasks of the transitional period, and have the adoption of the constitution as its key goal.

The Constitutional Assembly should not be disbanded for now, so that it could gather as an alternative and a counterbalance at any moment during the work of the congress. Depending on the decisions of the congress, there may be three options: The new constitution—the new elections; the provisional law—the new elections; the referendum—the constitution—the new elections. If neither of them succeeds, we will continue to sink. Here we must think about different emergency options, if you like.

[Borovskaya] Where could such options lie?

[Shakhray] I will not dwell on them in detail, otherwise they will turn into the key options subject to comments. I believe that a politician must appraise all options, including very bad ones, and have some plan of action for such a case.

[Borovskaya] What does the idea about your Party of Russian Unity and Concord [PRES] party mean?

[Shakhray] I came up with the initiative of establishing a separate party from the Russian Provincial Party—the Party of Russian Unity and Concord. During my trips to regions, I noticed their attitude toward all parties as Moscow's organizations that have more powerful or weaker regional structures.

I see a political recess, that is, the regional structure of the power system. I suppose that it is possible to unite part of regional political forces not with Moscow but among themselves on the basis of coordinating regional interests with the interests of the entire state, and the idea of preserving Russia as an integral and indivisible state.

The definition of such a party reveals its democratic and centrist orientation. In the event of elections, we will join a democratic bloc.

[Borovskaya] How do you see Russia's state system?

[Shakhray] In my opinion, there is a single formula for preserving the unity of the Russian state: A socially oriented market economy, federalism, and local self-government. It is only these three factors that can give Russia a chance to survive in a democratic manner and to preserve its integrity.

As for the draft constitution, I would like to draw your attention to the following concept: We managed to avoid the ethnic principle of organizing the Russian state. Republics, lands, and oblasts are only territorial subjects of the Federation.

The second, no less important, moment is that the draft constitution states the equality of republics, lands, and oblasts, that is, the absolute equality of their commitments in all issues. There are two differences. Lands and oblasts do not have the attributes of a state (the constitution, citizenship, the Supreme Court, and so on). Second, despite the equality of force of laws of lands, republics, and oblasts, their status differs a little.

I think that in about 15 or 20 years, the eight interregional associations that cover almost all of Russia will give rise to new subjects of the Federation which will not be abstractly divided into republics and oblasts but united through the community of geopolitical and economic interests.

[Borovskaya] It is common knowledge that Tatarstan has stated its unique position. It has withdrawn from the Constitutional Assembly. Does this mean that not everything is so smooth?

[Shakhray] First, Tatarstan's delegation did not leave the Constitutional Assembly even for a day. No one has seen the text of the declaration by its leaders. I believe that such a document existed, but it was not publicized. During those days when radio and television were making a lot of fuss about Tatarstan leaving the Assembly, its two representatives were sitting and working at the section of the representatives of the Federation subjects which I head.

Tatarstan's unique stand is that it is insisting on its exceptional status which it has actually achieved contrary to other republics. The Russian Government has three ways of influencing Tatarstan—"to press" on it by unifying it with other subjects of the Russian Federation; to wait until time and economic reform settle everything, without recognizing the new legal status of Tatarstan. And the third way—to try to find an agreed formula of relations. We are currently working on the third option. We are looking for a formula of interrelations with Tatarstan and its status.

Negotiations with Tatarstan have always been difficult. This republic used to exploit the results of the referendum as a political argument. Thus, I formulated a

counterargument: Let us hold a referendum in Russia on joining Tatarstan and vote for preserving an integral state.

[Borovskaya] How did you become a specialist in regional issues? Did the fact that you come from North Caucasus have its role here?

[Shakhray] It is a long story. My graduation paper at Rostov University was on the Yugoslav Federation. At the beginning of my post-graduate studies at MGU [Moscow State University], I wrote a study on the Soviet and the Czechoslovakian Federations. My candidate's thesis dealt with the issue of federalism and the organization of legislative work in federal states. Thus, this is my profession. It happened to coincide with my political career. Certainly, my personal experience also matters here, because I really come from the multiracial North Caucasus.

[Borovskaya] What do you think about the instances of corruption that were exposed at the Supreme Soviet session? Everyone understands that this was a political action. However, no one believes that this is a purely political act.

[Shakhray] I do not believe that everything is well at the top echelons of power, including the government and the Supreme Soviet. Things may be even worse in the Supreme Soviet. The deputies' status allows them to carry anything across the border and to escape legal persecution. Actually, all corrupt officials escaped punishment under the slogan of combating corruption.

As soon as the president "steps up pressure" on someone for such facts, that person immediately appears in the Supreme Soviet and announces that this is political persecution. The same is said when the Supreme Soviet exposes some government official on the basis of documentary proof. We should not fight against corruption through political demagogy. The remaining things can be discussed in line with the law only when one has results of investigations.

[Borovskaya] What, in your opinion, is the fate of the exceptional status of our oblast?

[Shakhray] It is obvious that your status will differ from that of other lands and oblasts. You are an enclave, and this determines everything.

I think that we will include the following two principles in the draft constitution. We will state in the article on the principles of the constitutional system that the differentiation of powers and subjects in the Russian Federation is conducted on the basis of the constitution and agreements on the differentiation of powers and subjects. This means that the minimum standard of the principles of the constitutional system in Kaliningrad Oblast cannot differ from that of the entire Russian Federation. However, the center must delegate such powers to Kaliningrad Oblast that would ensure its independent status considering its geographic end economic situation.

I hope that we will be able to develop this formula and include Kaliningrad Oblast into Article 63 which lists the subjects of the Russian Federation.

[Borovskaya] Do you really intend to run in the presidential elections?

[Shakhray] Everything is good in its season. I have enough stamina and self-possession. Russia has a president who managed to be elected twice by the people during two years. He has a set term. No one has any moral or political right to speak of his early reelection, unless he raises this issue himself.

Moscow Soviet Calls For Prosecution of Luzhkov, Others

PM2207141193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Moscow City Soviet"]

[Text] The 16th session of the Moscow City Soviet has deemed the implementation of the 1992 budget unsatisfactory and, on the basis of information on violations committed by the city administration in the implementation of last year's budget, has expressed no confidence in Yuriy Korostelev, Moscow Government minister and leader of the finance department. The Moscow City Soviet chairman has been instructed to send to the courts documents for the institution of criminal proceedings for nonfulfillment of Moscow City Soviet budgetary decisions against top officials of the Moscow Administration—Yuriy Luzhkov, Konstantin Buravlev, Yuriy Korostelev, and Iosif Ordzhonikidze.

The session instructed the Russian general prosecutor to investigate the city administration's commercial activity.

Yakutia Parliament Not To Discuss Draft Constitution

LD2207194993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Sakha-Yakutiya has today discussed views on the Russian draft constitution prepared by the Constitutional Conference in Moscow. In a decision adopted on this question, the presidium said that it does not think it will be expedient to examine the draft constitution at the republic's Supreme Soviet session, since this was signed only by one of the Russian Federation's republics and three oblasts. The Supreme Soviet Presidium of Yakutiya believes that further work on the constitution can be resumed only after a federal law on procedures for preparation and adoption of constitution is adopted.

Russia Accused of 'Neglecting' Yakutia's Interests

PM2207152393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Incidentally"]

[Text] At a recent press conference Vyacheslav Shtyrov, vice president of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), accused the Russian Government of neglecting Yakutia's interests. The Sakha (Yakutia) Supreme Soviet Presidium agrees with him, noting in a statement that Finance Minister B. Fedorov, despite instructions given to him by V. Chernomyrdin, "is not taking account of the specific features of the Far North and is not allocating a sufficient amount of credit resources for the early delivery of freight." As a result, the document notes, the only possible navigation time for the delivery of freight to northern regions is lost. "This is akin to an economic blockade of the republic," the statement stresses.

Vice President Shtyrov believes that the Russian Government's actions are comparable to the 1933 decisions by the Stalinist leadership, who created an artificial famine in regions which earned their displeasure. In his words, if money is not received by the deadline, the Yakutia authorities intend to declare a state of emergency. Under this all the monetary resources of republic enterprises will be compulsorily mobilized to acquire goods for the Far North. By way of an extreme measure the authorities intend to suspend centralized deliveries of diamonds to Russia. If credits are not received by the deadline, the republic, as a component of the Russian Federation, "will demand that the Russian president and the Supreme Soviet dismiss those members of the Russian cabinet who put Yakutia in this situation," the vice president stated.

Tomsk Region Split Over Referendum on Sovereignty

LD2207115493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1127 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yakushev]

[Text] Tomsk July 22—Authorities of the Russian region of Tomsk, Siberia have decided to hold a referendum on October 3 to find out what the local inhabitans think about the possible declaration of the region's sovereignity.

This decision has met with mixed reaction. The Democratic Russia movement has been the most consistent opponent of the referendum. The coordinating committee of the movement supported the Russian president's statement that taking steps towards sovereignty while a new Russian constitution is being worked out is untimely and can be pernicious for the Russian state system.

The movement appealed to a court to recognize the decision of the city's authorities illegal and to the procurator of the region with the request to protest against it.

The coordination committee of the Democratic Russia movement has also appealed to the head of the city administration Victor Kress "not to obey the anti-constitutional decision on holding a referendum".

North Ossetia Asks Yeltsin To Extend State of Emergency

LD2207202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1629 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz July 22 TASS—The Parliament of North Ossetia, a Russian republic in the Caucasus, appealed to President Boris Yeltsin to extend the state of emergency for two months in the zone of conflict with neighbouring Ingushetia.

If the request is met this will be the fifth prolongation of the state of emergency which was introduced last November in North Ossetia and Ingushetia after Ossetians and Ingushis clashed because of territorial claims.

Ossetian lawmakers want the state of emergency to be prolonged from the expiry date of July 31 to Septemebr 30 because the situation in the conflict zone has sharply aggravated of late. Terrorist acts, attacks on police, assassinations have become frequent of late.

The state of emergency concerns the Mozdok District, some territories of the Pravoberezhnyy, Prigorodnyy Districts and several settlements adjoining Vladikavkaz in North Ossetia, as well as the Malgobek and Nazran Districts of Ingushetia.

Chechnya, Ingushetia Conclude Cooperation Treaty

LD2207130493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy July 22 TASS—A repetition of half-forgotten military parades has been going on since this morning in front of the presidential palace in the center of Groznyy. The military troops of Chechnya are preparing for tomorrow's meeting of an official delegation from neighbouring Ingushetia, a well informed source form Groznyy told ITAR-TASS.

According to the same source, a ceremony of the signing of a treaty on friendship and cooperation between the Chechen and Ingush Republics is expected tomorrow. The text of the treaty is being kept secret for the moment.

As is known, Chechnya and Ingushetia previously made up the single Chechen-Ingush Republic within Russia.

When in autumn of 1991 Chechnya proclaimed independence and elected Dzhokhar Dudayev president, the Ingush People held a referendum and expressed the desire to remain within the Russian Federation. The borders between Chechnya and Ingushetia have not been officially determined yet. Apparently this problem will become a cornerstone in the treaty between the two republics which is being prepared for signing. The heads of both republics earlier repeatedly expressed the wish that these frontiers remain "transparent".

International Affairs

Officials Comment on Sevastopol, Troop Movements

AU2207125993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 Jul 93 pp 1, 4

[Report by Oleksandr Pilat, HOLOS UKRAYINY special correspondent from the Crimean Republic: "The Sevastopol Panorama"]

[Text] **Sevastopol Continues To Live in Accordance With Ukrainian Laws**

The so-called People's Assembly that was held in Sevastopol last Friday [16 July] and the documents adopted at it aimed at implementing the Russian Federation Supreme Council decree "On the Status of Sevastopol" are illegal. This was stated at the 19 July joint meeting of the boards of the City Council and the Sevastopol State Administration, and also at the news conference held by City Council chairman Viktor Semenov and Ukrainian presidential representative in Sevastopol Ivan Yermakov. It was also stated that aircraft fly above the city in groups. So far, it was not possible to clarify to which side they belong. As reported by competent sources, Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk has issued directives to stop any redeployment of troops on the territory of Sevastopol and forbidden Ukrainian servicemen to engage in politics.

A military commission that has assumed control of all movements of the military technology in the air, sea, and on land has been created at the Sevastopol City Council. It has also become known that Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk promises to coordinate with Russian President B. Yeltsin the question of suspending, for this period of time, any Black Sea Fleet troops movements on the territory of Sevastopol.

It was decided to convene, approximately on 22 July, an extraordinary session of the Sevastopol City Council. Such a delay is due to the fact that a working group of [Ukraine's] Cabinet of Ministers and a group of lawyers from the Ukrainian Supreme Council arrived in Sevastopol. These groups will work until Thursday [22 July]. They must, in particular, determine the volume of financing Sevastopol's material and technological provision in order to somehow mitigate the situation that has taken shape in the city. The extraordinary session will discuss the sociopolitical situation in the city, as well as questions associated with the holding of the so-called viche. Yermakov proposed that a joint meeting of Supreme Council Presidiums of the Russian Federation and Ukraine be convened in Sevastopol.

Today, Sevastopol continues to live in accordance with Ukrainian laws. The situation in the city is quiet and normal.

K. Morozov: "There Will Be Ukrainian Naval Forces. Sevastopol Will, Undoubtedly, Be Their Base"

On 19 July, the Ukrainian Radio broadcast live the speech by Ukrainian Defense Minister K. Morozov who stated, answering the question by a "Yuzhnyy Kuryer" [Southern Messenger] Agency correspondent on the building and further prospects of Ukrainian Naval Forces and the status of Sevastopol: "We stand on our own Sevastopol soil and build our defense in the sea. There will be Ukrainian Naval Forces. Sevastopol will, undoubtedly, be their base. The Ukrainian Naval Forces presently have four ships. However, the shipbuilding industry has been founded, and we are supporting and financing it. In the next five years, the Ukrainian Naval Forces will have ten ships."

Answering the question regarding the supership "Varyag" that stands unfinished at one of Nikolayev's shipyards, Morozov said: "Ukraine is studying this situation. We will finish building this ship either jointly with Russia and will sell it to Russia, or, if Russia does not wish this, we will build it jointly with other states and will sell it either to Russia or to other states. We cannot complete the building of this ship on our own, and we do not need it within the Ukrainian Naval Forces."

Statements by a Leader of the Crimean Tatars Regarding the Status of Sevastopol

At a meeting with journalists, deputy chairman of the Majlis Refat Chubarov stated, in particular, this: "The Russian parliament has once again demonstrated to its neighbors that, when Russian geopolitical interests are involved, it ignores everything.

"...One is amazed at the lack of responsibility on the part of politicians who adopt decisions that may only be implemented by weapons. One is also amazed at their cynicism. So many various references are being made to history in order to prove Russia's right to the Crimea, and not a single word about the indigenous Crimean people enslaved by Russia and not a single word of remorse in connection with recent crimes on the peninsula against Crimean Tatars.... The events of recent years indicate that Crimean problems may be resolved concurrently with the resolution of the problems of Crimean Tatars."

The Sevastopol Procurator Replies

Sevastopol Procurator Ivan Vernydubov received a telegram from people's deputy of the Russian Federation Yevgeniy Pudovkin who states that "a political campaign of harassment of the Russian citizens residing in Sevastopol by the Procurator's Office and by the Court is under way." Vernydubov has sent Pudovkin a telegram in reply in which he evaluates Pudovkin's telegram as blatant and totally groundless interference into the affairs of Ukraine's law enforcement organs.

Officials Request U.S. Help in Nuclear Power

WS2307093793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1958 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev—Mark Princevalle, representative of the American Environmental Engineering company [AEE] informed a UNIAN correspondent that he had received a letter to Vice President Albert Gore, signed by Mykhaylo Umanets, head of the State Committee for Nuclear Power Utilization, and Minister of Environmental Protection Yuriy Kostenko. The letter contains a persuasive request to help Ukraine modernize nuclear power facilities and restore the environment. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Nuclear Power Utilization, and the State Committee of Atomistics are closely cooperating with the U.S. nuclear energy and ecological consulting company AEE, whose activities have been focused on researching and classification of our nuclear power and environment protection programs since 1991. The letter reads: "We are expecting you to support us in receiving the promised assistance. It will also be helpful for the AEE, which is the crucial mechanism behind the realization of such help. The company will prepare ecological certificates and examine the project of withdrawing the Chernobyl nuclear power plant from operation. The project is especially valuable because it provides for the participation of Ukrainian specialists at all stages of work as well as their training. The realization of the project will help to establish national ecological norms for nuclear power engineering and industry comparable to those accepted world-wide. It will also help to train qualified personnel in this field and create safe nuclear power engineering in Ukraine.

Cooperation With Moldovan Security Service Continues

LD2207173993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] As we have already reported, an attack by unknown persons on a detail of Ukrainian border troops took place in the district of the border post near the village of Nagornoye in Odessa Oblast, which is near the border village of Etuliya in the Republic of Moldova, on 19 July of this year. As a result of the incident, private Yuriy Shcherbachenko was seriously wounded and later died at the hospital. The border troops opened fire, but the attackers, having taken possession of the automatic rifle, disappeared.

The Moldovan and Ukrainian sides are making use of joint operational measures in order to detain the criminals. It is envisaged that the attack was perpetrated with the aim of taking possession of arms. Some political forces, and also the mass media, both in Moldova and in Ukraine, are evaluating this incident as a conflict on the border between two neighboring states, especially emphasizing that the recently signed treaty on cooperation and interaction between the special services and the border troops of the Republic of Moldova and of Ukraine is not working, as a result of which the conflict at the border supposedly occurred.

In connection with this the Center of Public Relations of the Ministry of National Security of the Republic of Moldova, the press center of the state committee for protection of the state border of Ukraine, and the Security Service of Ukraine, are authorized to state that the special services and the border troops do not consider this incident as a political or military action of one side against the other. Communication between the special services and the border troops of the two sides is being maintained within the framework of a signed agreement and is directed at countering international terrorism, organized crime, and drug dealing, and stopping smuggling and other crimes.

Kravchuk Orders Creation of East Europe Economic Organization

AU2207141793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 Jul 93 p 3

["Ukrainian Presidential Directive on Creating International Nongovernmental Organization 'Free Economy of Eastern Europe'" issued in Kiev on 16 July]

[Text] In order to promote the creation of a socially oriented market economy in Eastern European countries by way of intensifying the development of private entrepreneurship and accelerating Ukraine's integration into the European and world community, the following must be done:

1. To support the initiative by public organizations and representatives of business circles of some foreign states with regard to creating the international nongovernmental organization "Free Economy of Eastern Europe" and stationing its headquarters in the Ukrainian capital Kiev.

2. Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers and the Kiev City State Administration must render the necessary assistance to the organizing committee in charge of the creation of the international nongovernmental organization "Free Economy of Eastern Europe" (V.O. Kravchenko) in holding the constituent meeting of the organization on 30 July 1993 in Kiev and in its subsequent functioning.

[Signed] Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk
[Dated] Kiev, 16 July 1993

Legislator Favors Larger Peacekeeping Contingent in Sarajevo

LD2207145993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] We are in favor of the Ukrainian military presence in Sarajevo being bigger. This was stated by Dmytro Pavlychko in an interview with NARODNA ARMIYA. He was in Sarajevo as head of the Ukrainian parliamentary delegation. Pavlychko noted that the Ukrainian

battalion here as part of the peacekeeping forces is structurally smaller and that is why it is necessary to interact with NATO structures. In the opinion of Dmytro Pavlychko, Ukrainian soldiers in Sarajevo apart from military service are also undergoing psychological training. The head of the parliamentary commission is convinced that the personnel that has been in this region for six months is the elite of the Ukrainian Army.

National Affairs

Resolution Lists Measures To Combat Crime

AU2307101693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 Jul 93 p 3

["Resolution on the State Ensuring the Protection of Civil Order and the Security of Citizens and Measures for Strengthening Law and Order in This Sphere" adopted by the Coordination Committee for Questions of Combating Crime in Kiev on 16 July]

[Text] In view of the extremely complex crime-breeding situation and for the purpose of decisively intensifying the struggle against crime and, first and foremost, criminal manifestations in public places, the Coordination Committee for Questions of Combating Crime has resolved as follows:

1. Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the participation of subdivisions of the National Guard and troops of the Internal and Escort Guards, must ensure, within the third quarter of the current year, the regular implementation of large-scale measures for enforcing proper order in the streets, in places of rest and mass gatherings of people, and in other public places, and for the detection and timely prevention of any criminal manifestations at railroad stations, markets, hotels, hostels, and other places of citizens' residence or cultural recreation, on means of transport, and at public catering enterprises.

To make chiefs of oblast administrations and of city and rayon departments of internal affairs personally responsible for implementing these measures.

The leadership of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs must maintain constant control over the fulfillment of the planned measures and must react efficiently to facts of inactivity on the part of officials of internal affairs organs regarding these questions, to the extent that they may be dismissed from their jobs.

2. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and its subdivisions in provinces, jointly with local state administrations and with the extensive participation of the public, must conduct, during July-August 1993, operational-preventive measures for eliminating the causes and conditions that promote violations of public order, encroachments upon peoples' life and health, and must take under constant control those citizens who are under administrative supervision, who commit violations of law in everyday life, drunkards, drug addicts, and other persons with a tendency to commit crimes.

To demand that leaders of oblast, town, and rayon organs of internal affairs ensure active and purpose-oriented work of divisional inspectors and of the public order protection service, and get rid of those officials whose attitude toward the fulfillment of their official duties is irresponsible.

3. Local state administrations must coordinate the actions of law-enforcement organs, labor collectives, and public formations in the cause of protecting public order and the security of citizens, taking into account specific features of regions and the crime-breeding situation in them. For that purpose, in July and August 1993, joint measures must be elaborated and implemented, so that the normal functioning of cultural, sports, public catering institutions, places of young people's recreation, and passenger transport is ensured. All available possibilities must be used for a proper organization of children's rest during summer holidays, and a decisive struggle must be waged against alcoholism and drug addiction as the main preconditions for antisocial manifestations.

Jointly with leaders of production associations, enterprises, institutions, organizations, labor collectives, and public associations and proceeding from the need to enlist, first and foremost, all forces and possibilities for ensuring public order, to conduct, in the third and fourth quarters of the current year, work on restoring the activity of public formations (voluntary people's control, self-defense units, stations for the protection of order, and so on), taking into account new economic conditions, utilizing methods of material and other types of incentives, and providing the necessary premises for them.

4. Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers must organize, in the third and fourth quarters of 1993, the elaboration of the draft law "On the Prevention of Violations of Law," a legislative act on the procedure for financing the State Program for Combating Crime and submit it for the consideration of Ukraine's Supreme Council; it must also elaborate and adopt Rules on Transactions Involving Hard Currency, and the Statute on Public Formations Responsible for the Protection of Public Order.

5. Ukraine's Ministry of Justice, jointly with other interested central organs of state executive power, must, in the second half of 1993, organize the elaboration of draft legislative acts aimed at intensifying the struggle against crime and protecting the public order and citizens' security in those spheres that have not been covered by the current legislation.

6. Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs must submit the following to Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers:

Proposals, coordinated with the Ministry of the Economy, the State Committee for Material Resources,

and the Ministry of Finance, on the creation, within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of a special-purpose battalion and a helicopter subdivision capable of reacting efficiently to extraordinary events;

Proposals, coordinated with interested ministries and other central organs of state executive power, on providing guard services for state property facilities by special state organizations exclusively, with a view to freeing branch ministries and departments, with the exception of the transport complex, from the fulfillment of guard functions that are not typical for them and transferring these duties to guard services subordinated to organs of internal affairs; also corresponding proposals regarding altering and supplementing Ukraine's law "On Entrepreneurship."

7. Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the participation of the Main Administration of the Commander of Ukraine's National Guard, in order to fulfill Ukraine's law of 26 January 1993 "On Altering and Supplementing Ukraine's Law 'On Ukraine's National Guard,'" must elaborate, within one month, and approve a joint instruction that envisages the procedure for enlisting the services of the National Guard personnel for the protection of public order. It must also envisage training the personnel in how to apply forms and methods of patrol and sentry service in streets and in other public places.

8. Ukraine's Ministry of Defense must take measures to enlist the services of servicemen for maintaining law and order on territories adjacent to sites of deployment of military units, military educational institutions, and other facilities subordinated to the Ministry of Defense and to ensure the more active work of military patrols aimed at putting an end to violations of law by servicemen.

To discuss the question of providing the Ministry of Internal Affairs with firearms and related ammunition free of charge in accordance with written requests.

9. To recommend that the National Bank open, by the end of the current year, sufficient numbers of currency exchange stations, in order to regulate the system of hard currency exchange and to prevent violations in this sphere. To analyze the practice of issuing general licenses for carrying out such transactions to commercial structures and to take measures for correcting the shortcomings.

10. The Ministry of the Economy, the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, the State Committee for the Light Textile Industry [Derzhkomlehteks], the State Committee for Resources, and the State Committee for Oil and Gas must find possibilities, in the second half of 1993, for ensuring, as a matter of priority, deliveries to organs of internal affairs of automobiles and special automobile vehicles, special and criminal investigation technology, special equipment, means of communication, fuel and lubricants, as well as sheepskin and fur garments, fabrics, manufactured goods, and other types of property.

11. Deputy chairman of the Coordination Committee A.V. Vasylyshyn must organize, in August and September 1993, a check-up of the fulfillment of the given resolution. Proposals on the results of the check-up must be reported at a meeting of the Coordination Committee.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Coordination Committee
[Dated] Kiev, 5 July 1993

Kravchuk Vows Tough Measures

WS2307101993 Kiev IMENEM ZAKONU in Ukrainian 16 Jul 93 p 1

[Untitled interview with President Kravchuk by I. Levchenko, public relations officer at the Ukrainian Interior Ministry]

[Text] Following a session of the Coordinating Council for Combating Crime, I. Levchenko, public relations officer at the Ukrainian Interior Minister, asked Ukrainian President Kravchuk to answer a number of questions that would be interesting to our readers.

[Levchenko] What conclusion can you draw after your meeting with chiefs of the oblast Administrations of Interior Affairs?

[Kravchuk] My conclusion is that they are aware of the situation. Sure enough, there are a variety of objective and subjective reasons that prevent us from conducting our activities on a large scale. However, the truth also is that neither the Prosecution Office, the court, the Interior Ministry, nor the Security Service brought them together in the past five years.

All of them did their stint separately, without forming a coordinated striking force—some kind of a fist. So this would be my first advice. The people gave vent to all of their grudges against each other and voiced their suggestions and proposals. This was very useful for the mentality of our people—accustomed to act under guidelines from above.

Second, we have realized that we have the necessary potential. We will engage the National Guards, the Defense Ministry in this and create self-defense patrols in the cities and villages. As I have already said, every inch of our land should be under the control of the law-enforcement agencies, relevant ministries, and the public. People should feel their strength. Scared by the rampant crime, they should convince themselves that we can cope with everything. I said today: there will be no vague measures. There will be the following pattern of procedures: analysis, specific assignments, clearly determined responsibilities, as well as a means and time of implementation and reporting to the Coordinating

Council. We will evaluate the people and tell them openly if they are qualified or not!

[Levchenko] And still, what conclusions have you drawn after some suggested that force be applied where it is required?

[Kravchuk] The speakers complained in their reports of gaps in the legislation, but we do have laws. Some provisions of a normative act, a law, or the Criminal Code are soft, but some are quite severe. Of course, one can justify everything by the legislation gap. However, we will no longer hesitate to apply force when necessary, and the criminals will feel that. With the surge of humanism and general democracy, people came to think that unlawfulness is a normal state of things. Individuals with criminal proclivities should realize that the law is still valid and can be applied against them. Force should be protected by force. I see no other solution.

New Military Intelligence Head Interviewed

WS2207144993 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 13 Jul 93 p 4

["Excerpts" of interview with Major General Oleksandr Skipalskyy, chief of the Main Military Intelligence Administration at the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, by UNIAN correspondent Vasyl Zorya: "The More Powerful the Intelligence, the Smaller the Army"]

[Text] **On 6 July 1993, Major General Oleksandr Skipalskyy was appointed chief of the Main Military Intelligence Administration at the Defense Ministry. A counterespionage officer, he has spent half of his life in the special forces. He was educated in the KGB College in Moscow. In 1990, he abandoned the CPSU; as a result, his personal file was investigated by the head of the KGB. In the beginning of September 1991, Skipalskyy was to be dismissed from the KGB, but the coup prevented it. He became chief of the Counterespionage Administration at the Ukrainian National Security Service and later, he switched to the Defense Ministry. He works 13-14 hours a day. He is married and has two daughters. The last time the press mentioned Skipalskyy, it was in an announcement by the Belarusian Servicemen Association: "We ask officers, ensigns, and midshipmen to square up with your supervisors, first of all with Major General Skipolskyy (incorrect name - V.Z.), who have entered the path of Ukrainian nationalism and overzealously work to prove that they have earned their epaulets. We are calling on you to show them your mistrust." ("Pravda" 8 July).**

[Zorya] Will you resign from the post of head of the Ukrainian Servicemen Association [SVU] due to your present assignments?

[Skipalskyy] Indeed, it is hard to manage two posts, but the SVU has recently been losing its positions. As an expert, I have no doubt who inspires the split in the organization, who is upset by its patriotic policy. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Security Service, the Interior Ministry, the Frontier Guard, and even the National Guard do not share the SVU policy. To leave the organization in such a situation? No, it is out of question for the time being.

[Zorya] What prompted the creation of the intelligence service?

[Skipalskyy] It was prompted by the planned development of military structures. The more independent intelligence sources among them, the better the situation. However, I believe that there should be only one intelligence service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

[Zorya] Why is the intelligence in Ukraine submitted to the leadership of the Security Service and not to the Interior Ministry?

[Skipalskyy] It is hard to understand that. Such a situation existed in the former USSR and remains still in Iran and, probably, in North Korea. It dates from the KGB era... As a matter of fact, the intelligence should be submitted to someone it is working for. Even the Interior Ministry has its own security service. But the Defense Ministry is not allowed to have one. I expect that the president, as the commander in chief, will make appropriate decisions.

[Zorya] What arguments were put forward by the opponents of the new intelligence service?

[Skipalskyy] They said that it would be a departmental, insignificant structure subordinate to the defense minister.

[Zorya] How would you describe the relations between the intelligence service and Ukrainian Security Service [SBU]?

[Skipalskyy] These are different services, and they will perform their own specific duties. The SBU's activity has already been specified by special decree. We are still waiting for a decree on intelligence to be adopted by the Supreme Council, which was supposed to be done in June.

Belarus

Shushkevich Meets With Bentsen, Businessmen in U.S.

WS2207130693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] At the invitation of a number of U.S. organizations including U.S. business circles, Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich has arrived in the U.S. capital. The important Belarusian guest was housed on Pennsylvania Avenue, just opposite the White House in an official residence, in which the leaders of the foreign states and governments are usually put up. Yesterday, Stanislav Shushkevich conducted negotiations with representatives of the U.S. business circles, who displayed great interest in the development of trade and economic relations with this former Soviet republic. Later, talks with U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen were held. Mr. Lloyd Bentsen acquainted Stanislav Shushkevich with the expected 28 July IMF announcement about the first IMF loan—$97 million—to Belarus within the framework of economic restructuring in the former socialist countries. Today, Stanislav Shushkevich will meet with the IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus and the board of the World Bank.

Foreign Minister's Absence Explained

WS2207142193 Minsk RID in Russian 1355 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Report by RID correspondent Tatyana Shchebet: "Why Don't Foreign Ministers Visit Leaders of Foreign States"]

[Text] Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kuzmich Kravchanka refused to give an interview to a RID correspondent on the issue of his nonparticipation in the visit of the Belarusian delegation to the United States.

"I was asked to give an interview to six newspapers, however, I am not willing to do it," said Petr Kuzmich. According to the newspaper observers, the absence of the head of the Belarusian Foreign Ministry at the Belarusian-U.S. summit shows that the relations between the Belarusian Supreme Soviet chairman and the Belarusian foreign minister have become extremely complicated. In connection with this, some legislative correspondents are citing Kravchanka's well known words: "Foreign ministers are not supposed to pay official visits to the leaders of foreign states."

Trade Union Leader Criticizes Government, Price Hikes

WS2307008293 Minsk ZHODA in Russian No. 10 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Trade Union Federation Chairman Vladimir Goncharik, by Aleksey Korol: "Belarus Is Facing a Very Dangerous Time"]

[Text] [Korol] The attitude of the Belarusian Trade Union Federation [FPB] toward the Supreme Soviet and the government can be termed "soft opposition." All of a sudden, there has been a turn toward outright opposition. It is clear that this change has been prompted by an abrupt and very large increase in prices of foodstuffs and municipal services. In a broader sense, it means unavoidable deterioration of the living standard that has reached a critical mark already. Is the new course of trade unions a long- term policy? Will the course become more firm?

[Goncharik] Our policy will depend on the policy of the government. Trade unions are reflecting the sentiments of the masses and will undertake appropriate measures. There is a rally scheduled for 21 July.

To tell the truth, I would not like to let strikes be launched. Strikes will bring no tangible results in our situation. However, whether strikes will or will not occur, will depend on the actions of the government and on how quickly and efficiently the latter will be able to alter its policy taking into account the interests of the working people. Otherwise, we will take all the possible measures, including a general strike. This is a universally recognized method of fighting when all other methods fail and the administration remains deaf.

Generally speaking, the federation and the trade unions forming it, are more resolute than ever before.

[Korol] How do your experts assess the reaction of workers of different branches to the increase in prices? What enterprises are ready for strikes now?

[Goncharik] The workers of branches affected by the negative consequences of conversion and people employed in defense industries have taken a more resolute stance. People employed in the sphere of public education who loudly voiced their protest not long ago and were granted an increase in wages, have been patient so far. However, disputes over coefficients have not been resolved and soon, new conflicts may arise.

In terms of regions, the most tense situation is in Minsk, Orsha, Vitebsk, and at the Brest electric machinery plant. People cannot be blamed for desperate reactions. They know that prices will continue to grow, and if wages are increased at least 70 percent compared to the growth in prices, people will remain calm. They do not want charity; they want a chance to earn money. This is a task for politicians.

[Korol] What is your vision of relations between trade unions and political parties and movements?

[Goncharik] We favor contacts and cooperation with parties whose stances are similar to our centrist position. We have steady contacts with the Social Democratic Assembly [BSDG]: we have exchanged information and draft agreements on the issues of socioeconomic policy. We have also held consultations with the Party of People's Accord [PNS] and discussed common

approaches. We have organized a joint scientific-practical conference on privatization and issued a joint declaration. We welcome the fact that the PNS Executive Committee has supported our stance on the issue of prices.

There are good prospects for further cooperation between the FPB and the PNS. This does not mean socioeconomic issues alone, but also political issues—our attitude toward the Supreme Soviet and the government.

In light of this, it is worth mentioning a joint declaration by the FPB, the BSDG, and the PNS which is now being drafted. The declaration underlines the identity of our viewpoints on the necessity of new Supreme Soviet elections and the reorganization of the government.

[Korol] Do you support the PNS idea to create a coalition government by means of consultations with representatives of the deputies corps, trade unions, parties, and movements?

[Goncharik] We do. This will give a chance to introduce new people into the government, competent specialists with a vision of alternative ways of development.

[Korol] Do you or your experts expect the situation to deteriorate to the extent of the current situation in Ukraine?

[Goncharik] We do expect this as early as this fall, if preventive measures envisioned in the tripartite agreement that I mentioned before, are not taken.

[Korol] This is an interesting question also because regardless of politicians' forecasts predicting deterioration long ago, the situation in Belarus was marked with relative stability. Then, quite unexpectedly, there has been an abrupt shift toward uncertainty.

[Goncharik] This has been a response to harsh and also unexpected moves on the part of the government. Those were provocative actions. Although our people are "price-hike proof," the recent increase was really too hard to bear. This is another proof that the stability was relative and that the resources for granting it have been exhausted.

[Korol] However, the reaction of the people to the increase in prices was not so obviously violent.

[Goncharik] You may be right. Patience that people still had in store could have helped them to remain calm. If the trade union had not acted, the situation could have remained quiet for some time. However, later, the situation would dramatically deteriorate and we could witness another April 1991 that brought a violent uncontrolled outburst of discontent. This could have unpredictable consequences for both the people and the state. Only very indecent politicians can count on reaching their goals by means of such violent processes.

[Korol] How do you assess the probability of the government taking measures in order to improve and stabilize the situation?

[Goncharik] I believe that the government still has resources, and a group of its members also has a wish to do this. However, the government lacks self-criticism.

[Korol] What measures must be taken?

[Goncharik] It is not the trade unions' business to draft concrete economic and political measures for the administration. Proceeding from the working people's interests, trade unions must draw the attention of the administration to sensitive spots and mistakes in the political course. By doing so, trade unions can help correct the course, and help avoid a temptation to resolve global problems at the expense of the impoverishment of the major part of the nation.

Strategic economic and political decisions are clear. These include shaping normal relations with the West based on contracts and creating conditions for foreign investments in Belarus. Belarus, indeed, has a potential for becoming a bridge between the East and the West. In order to achieve this, structural reshaping of industries must be carried out, enterprises must change their specialization, and new jobs must be created. In our realities, a swell of unemployment may serve as a detonator of a social explosion. The taxation policy must be changed in such a way as to stimulate production. Right now, when the state is taking away 80 percent of income, this is taxation and not fiscal policy. Denationalization and privatization must be carried out but not in its current form. Both the FPB and the PNS have expressed their suggestions on this issue. Other parties also have many wise proposals.

This means that we will have to begin with political decisions again—convene a roundtable, hold new elections, reorganize government structures, and create a new coalition government.

I think that Belarus is facing a very dangerous time. I may be mistaken, but I have an impression that Belarus can be compared to a plane that has started hovering. If a plane is not flying, it is bound to fall down. All the data testify that the fall has already begun. The situation is more dramatic than in Russia, although in the beginning, we were in a better situation.

We need quick and exact decisions in order to start the engines and discontinue the dive. These decisions are not to be made by the pilot alone; I mean that the society may not like a strong leader with extraordinary powers. Quite on the contrary, developed democracy and not dictatorship can save the society. The government should immediately sit at one table with representatives of political forces and work out pragmatic measures for overcoming the crisis.

However, the government lacks self-criticism and a wish to listen to the opinions of others. This is very evident if

you talk with Kebich, Myasnikovich, and other leaders. I do not want to say that they do not understand; they only try to persuade you into believing that only they are right and that theirs is the only correct decision. However, the only correct decisions do not exist. There are always alternatives, amendments, corrections, and so on. These people have often happened to make mistakes and then, they had to go back and correct them. Yet sometimes, it was too late. Potentially, the government can still function. However, it will not be a tragedy if it is replaced with another government. A change in government is a norm in democracies. This is an even more regular procedure for the states entering the stage of cardinal reforms, social and political instability. This may sound like a paradox, but a change in government under these circumstances would lead to the stabilization of society. A new government, new ideas, and new undertakings are always met with confidence on the part of the society.

[Korol] Does the current government have an understanding of the necessity of active contacts with political forces?

[Goncharik] I do not think so. So far, this has only been a declaration, a slogan.

[Korol] The trade unions based on the Soviet model are undergoing a complicated process of changes in order to become oriented toward the protection of working people's interests. Has the process been completed?

[Goncharik] It has not. The trade unions have retained a lot of former functions which is a distraction from their principal activities. However, we cannot reject these functions yet. Let us be clear—not all the trade union activists understand the necessity for new approaches to problems. Without reshuffling of the cadre and arrival of new people, this process cannot be completed.

With regard to strategic goals, we have made our decisions already. Belarusian trade unions are probably the only trade unions in the former Soviet Union, with the exception of the Baltics, which do not perform the functions of the state, including protection of labor and social security. In accordance with the law, we will only keep the function of public supervision. The process of reshaping the trade unions is clearly visible.

[Korol] How popular is the FPB among manual and office workers and other strata of the society?

[Goncharik] The federation has won prestige already, although I would not say that its rating is very high. Anyway, the FPB is noticeable. The situation with branch trade unions is more complicated. Those of agricultural machine building, radio and electronics, public education, and health protection are more active, others are less noticeable.

We have to resolve the problem of membership in the trade unions. We must make people consciously choose whether or not to join trade unions. Before, trade union membership was formal—once you were employed, you automatically became a member of a trade union and membership fees were automatically deducted from your wage. Now, the situation has changed at many enterprises whose workers have given written declarations confirming their membership. However, there often is a need for deliberate actions on the part of workers in support of their trade unions. For example, a trade union announces a strike or a rally. In the West, this is an obligatory decision for all its members. Some time ago, I attended an International Trade Union Organization session. A decision was approved there that the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia would have no right to vote and would only have the status of an observer. Representatives of all the states obeyed, although many of them had a different point of view.

[Korol] Is there competition between the FPB and the new trade unions?

[Goncharik] Competition is too strong a term. Our stance is: we do not overestimate their meaning and we do not disregard them. So far, they have been working on winning authority, also by means of criticizing the FPB. Sometimes, this was just criticism and sometimes not. Criticism is useful, just like cooperation with these unions. Today, we are stronger, and this is natural.

There has been no large outflow of people from the FPB to other trade unions—some 10,000 according to their data. This is not much, compared to 5 million trade unionists in the FPB.

Free trade unions are undergoing a process of development. They are creating their structures and learning how to work. The times of decisions on separate enterprises are over. We need consolidation of forces in the framework of the trade union movement.

The stability of the FPB is not only due to our material potential but also due to our stance with regard to protecting the interests of the working people and our ability to safeguard this protection. These are collective agreements, assistance in resolving conflicts with the administration, and legal assistance. We have retained sanatoria and other infrastructure.

The main thing is that the FPB is the most powerful organization protecting people from the catastrophic consequences of the current social disorder and unwise policy. People understand that and support us.

Officials Comment on Border Checkpoints

WS2307070793 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 16 Jul 93 p 1.

[Report by Igor Gukovskiy: "Houses on Wheels"]

[Text] A news conference was held on 15 July at the Center for Culture and Information by representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, the State Customs Committee, and the Chief Directorate of Border Troops.

According to the Customs Committee Chairman Gennadiy Shkurd, 20 custom houses and more than 50 checkpoints are functioning in the Republic. The number of State Committee functionaries has increased more than threefold and will reach the mark of 4,000 by the end of 1993.

Deputy Minister of the Interior Konstantin Platonov, in turn, furnished the following figures: 81 checkpoints are currently functioning in Belarus. Some 49 of them are located on highways and 32 of them are located in airports and railroad terminals. About 1 million rubles [R] were spent in 1992 for setting up the checkpoints that employ a total of 1,000 people.

The representatives of all the institutions unanimously assured the audience that the borders are tightly closed, and that their reliability will be enhanced. However....

This "however" was the actual reason for holding the briefing. The point is that the prime ministers of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine have recently signed a joint declaration on urgent measures for developing economic integration. What, then, will be the fate of the borders and the custom houses?

The prime ministers have stated that in the course of developing economic integration among the three republics, their custom regulations will be "intensively unified," because according to Gennadiy Shkurd, a custom union is the foundation of the economic union.

If so, it is quite possible that the need for an increased number of border troops will disappear. Then, the question is: "Why was money wasted on the creation of all the checkpoints and border garrisons, while now, everything is returning to the status quo?"

The experts, however, claim that there were no large expenditures. The costs spent on the checkpoints have already been recovered. In 1992 alone, some 12,500 attempts at illegal shipments of goods were averted and about R2.5 billion was returned to the state budget. With regard to the borders with Ukraine and Russia, nobody is going to construct any buildings there. Border guards are deployed in houses on wheels, which can be quickly and easily removed. Whether they will be removed or whether the regime at the border will be tightened, will depend on the realization of political decisions.

Information Ministry Accused of Encouraging 'Russophobia'

WS2307072693 Minsk BELORUSSKAYA NIVA in Russian 17 Jul 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Ministry of Information Picketed"]

[Text] Supporters of the Movement for Democracy, Social Progress, and Justice, and the Slavic Council "Belaya Rus" [White Russia] picketed the building of the Ministry of Information yesterday to protest the widespread mass media campaign of Russophobia and nationalism.

In the picketers' opinion, the Ministry of Information evidently encourages Russophobes and nationalists. It unduly blocks the dissemination of objective information about the latest political events inside and outside Belarus. This provokes just indignation and discontent among vast circles of the Republic's population, numerous parties and movements, and the overwhelming majority of Belarusian people, who reject Russophobia and nationalism.

Democrats Denounce Russian Decision on Sevastopol

LD2207194893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1813 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Larisa Klyuchnikova for TASS]

[Text] Minsk July 22 TASS—The United Democratic Party of Belarus denounced the decision of the Russian Parliament to proclaim Sevastopol Russian territory and said the move can result in a general destabilisation of the situation.

The Russian decision advances territorial claims to Ukraine, the party said in a statement on Thursday, adding that the parliamentary resolution "plays into the hands of extremist forces both in Russia, Ukraine and the CIS states".

Military Experts Inspect British Sites

WS2307101493 Minsk Belaruskaje Television Network in Belarusian 1430 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] A group of military experts from the Belarusian National Agency for Control and Inspection have returned to Minsk after a week-long inspection of British military sites. The inspection was conducted at the invitation of the British party within the CFE framework. The British party has met the costs of this inspection. According to Major General Viktor Vakar, who headed a nine member group, the inspection was a success and benefited both parties. The British party has highly evaluated the professionalism of the Belarusian military experts, and that shows that our military experts enjoy authority among their NATO colleagues.

Paznyak Criticizes Baltic-Black Sea Oil Conference

WS2307101793 Minsk Belaruskaje Television Network in Belarusian 2055 GMT 19 Jul 93

[From the "Nika" newscast]

[Text] Belarusian Popular Front Leader Zenon Paznyak disclosed an interesting piece of information during the news conference on the results of the international

conference of countries of the Baltic and Black Sea region on oil issues. In his words, the idea of creating the Baltic-Black Sea oil collector discussed at the conference, belongs to the CPSU. Acccording to Zenon Paznyak, in 1963, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the CPSU issued instructions on how to create such a collector. However, they could not bring this idea to life. Zenon Paznyak intrigued the journalists even more, saying that he would provide more details on this issue later.

Moldova

Commission Expresses Concern Over Talks on Dniester

LD2207140993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Chisinau July 22 TASS—The United Control Commission is concerned about the protracted negotiations on the final political settlement of the conflict in the Dniester region, according to a special statement released on the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of the agreement between Russia and Moldova "on principles of the peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the Dniester region of the Republic of Moldova".

The document says that as a result of the measures taken by the United Control Commission and united peacekeeping forces, the senseless fratricidal war in the Dniester region was stopped. Peaceful conditions for the settlement of the conflict have been created. The situation in the region is fully under control.

Active work on the final elimination of the consequences of the armed conflict continues. Engineer units from Russia, Moldova and Dniester region rendered harmless over 11,000 mines and explosive objects. Over 600 units of firearms, over 1,000 grenades and 100,000 [rounds of] ammunition were confiscated from local residents.

In the security zone, the United Control Commission directly guides the activities of investigation groups of the three sides in the maintenance of public order, the struggle against crime and search for those reported missing.

The local population on the whole supports the actions of the military contingents of Russia, Moldova and the Dniester region, the statement says.

Dniester To Create Own Peacekeeping Forces

AU2307101393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1957 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS 22/7/1993—The Dniester Government decided to create its own peacekeeping forces and groups of military observers. According to its decision, published today in the newspaper DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA (Truth of Dniester), these formations, sited in the conflict zone are subordinated to a military commandment consisting of people from the Tiraspol Ministry of Defence. Also, a decision setting up the text of the oath made by officers from Dniester interior military bodies was published. According to it, officers will swear to be faithful to the people, to the Dniester Republic and to the motherland. The motherland is as usually, associated with the gone Soviet Union.

Russia Reportedly Donates Aid to Dniester

LD2207164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1508 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angheliy]

[Text] Chisinau July 22 TASS—Russia has donated 16 billion roubles [R] to the "self-proclaimed" Dniester Republic of Moldova to buy energy resources, according to the local newspaper "CARINA".

Out of this amount, 410 million roubles are allocated to the town of Rybnitsa, whereto a train with gasoline and 28 trucks with liquefied gas were sent.

The Moldovan leadership was not informed about the help.

Charges Leveled at Gagauz Authorities

PM2207114593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 7

[Lyudmila Feliksova report: "Unrest in South Moldova"]

[Text] Chisinau—The Moldovan parliament has not managed to resolve the Gagauz question and has entrusted it to international experts. Nevertheless, in the run-up to the deputies' session beginning in early August, some sort of strange political petty intrigues have begun around the Gagauz people. First there came an appeal from Moldovan President M. Snegur to inhabitants of the southern regions, allegedly prompted by concern at the "unprecedented growth in the number of burglaries, murders, attempted murders, robberies, and thefts in this region."

This was naturally followed by the conclusions: "The arrogance and debauchery of bandit formations are the logical consequence of the policy being implemented by the Comrat authorities, a policy based on satisfying separatist ambitions by means of violence and inspired and supported from outside."

Almost at the same time as the appeal, an announcement from the Bessarabian National Front—a party so far known to no one—was heard on national radio, accusing leaders of the Gagauz region by name of all mortal sins. Curiously, the report by the hitherto unknown political organization (on the radio it was called "little known")

occupied all the airtime of the news program, even snatching an extra chunk from another program.

All these, and other, incidents following parliament's unsuccessful approach to the Gagauz problem suggest that the situation in the south, already complex, is continuing to heat up.

Snegur, IMF Delegation Discuss Credits, Reforms

AU2307102293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1957 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 22/7/1993—The Moldovan leadership assumes responsibility for the promotion of reforms, being aware of the fact that it will have to undertake more pleasant measures than it did before, stated President Snegur, meeting today a group from the International Monetary Fund. The group was led by John Odling-Smee [name as received], director of the Europe II Department (for the former Soviet Republics). "We know we'll have to (words indistinct) not only from the opposition, but even from some forces considered to be centrist, but a more reasonable solution doesn't exist," Mircea Snegur stressed. John Odling-Smee mentioned that the people will understand the huge necessity of reforms only when it feels that the country's leadership is fully supporting the program of reforms. Mr. Odling-Smee added that the soonest approval by parliament of the recalculated budget will help the decision of the IMF Coordinating Committee to grant Moldova credits.

Agree to Credits for Reforms

AU2307102493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1957 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 22/7/1993—The programme of reforms elaborated by the Moldovan Government "is a wonderful program, that will speed up the privatization process and will lead to the establishment of market relations," stated at the today's press conference John Odling-Smee, director of the Europe II Department of the IMF. Mr. Odling-Smee is leading an IMF mission to Moldova. Informing the audience about the results of the talks with the Moldovan executive, John Odling-Smee remarked that it was agreed upon a credit for Moldova with a reimbursement term of 4-10 years for systemic transformations in the economy. Asked if this credit would be used to create the fund of stabilization of the Moldovan leu, Mr. Odling-Smee stated that the IMF would negotiate with the Moldovan Government about such a credit, before the national currency is introduced. "The talks will start, perhaps, in the next months or even weeks," he added. Serghei Certan, Moldovan minister of economy, stated that the cooperation with the IMF in the purpose of improving the conception of economic reform and the government's activity programme will be useful for Moldova. It will also open new opportunities of more active cooperation with partners from abroad.

Snegur Discusses Law on Villages, Agriculture

AU2307103593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1957 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 22/7/1993—At the yesterday's extended session of the Ialoveni Regional Executive, President Snegur stated he agreed with some deputies that it was necessary to approve a law regarding villages, separate from the law on regions. This latter law provoked controversial discussions in parliament. At the meetings which took place on the same day in the village of Costesti, Mircea Snegur spoke about the necessity to create joint stock societies of suppliers of primary agricultural production and enterprises processing it. Thus, the incomes would be parted in a equal way. People from the farm called "Speranta" (The Hope) of the Nemireni village, visited by Snegur, have pronounced for granting the president special power he could use to sign normative documents, in order to hasten the transition to a market economy.

Kazakhstan

Official Discusses Space, Nuclear Power Cooperation in India

LD2207132993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1304 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaytsev]

[Text] Delhi July 22 TASS— Kazakhstan has stated its readiness to develop cooperation with India in space exploration and the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. Galym Abilsiitov, deputy prime minister of Kazakhstan, put forward a proposal for the joint use with India of the start complex of the Baykonur space vehicle launching site, in the course of his meeting with Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. The Indian leader is currently in Delhi participating in an annual meeting of the joint Indian- Kazakh inter-governmental commission.

The Indian prime minister noted that the two countries have fine possibilities for the development of all-round ties and wished participants in the commission success in attaining the set goals.

According to a representative of the Kazakh delegation, cooperation in the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes presupposes joint research with the use of fast neutron reactors available in Kazakhstan, and research dealing with processing spent nuclear fuel, as well as a study of the influence of radiation on the human body.

Statement Presents President's Position on Economic Union

LD2307095393 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Kazakhstan has responded with interest to the proposal of the Moscow Civil Union organization to set up an economic union of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine, a statement circulated by the Kazakh president's press service says. It is a concrete development of the initiatives by Nursultan Nazarbayev aimed at strengthening the coordinating activities of the CIS countries in the economic sphere and overcoming the crisis by joint efforts. The president of Kazakhstan put forward numerous realistic proposals for strengthening the joint economic space. In particular, he proposed setting up a banking and customs alliance, and a system of interstate economic agencies within the CIS framework that will be capable of regulating economic relations among the states. Concrete measures have been taken in this direction.

The president's press service also notes that the initiative of Kazakhstan to strengthen economic cooperation has not always met with understanding from its CIS partners. For this reason it seems important to overcome certain discrepancies in approaches to interstate economic cooperation, which were reflected in the conclusion of the economic union treaty by the Governments of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. This treaty is by no means capable of strengthening the economic integration of the three states; it is necessary to go further in this respect. The proposals put forward by some movements and organizations of well-known Russian economists and public figures pursue this aim and Kazakhstan supports them. The president's press service statement says it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that in its foreign economic policy, Kazakhstan has always stood for multipolar orientation, proceeding from its geopolitical situation. On the whole these contacts, as Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed at a recent Economic Cooperation Organization conference in Istanbul, serve the interests not only of the Central Asian states but of the whole CIS.

Nazarbayev's Visit to Thailand Centers on Economic Issues

LD2307085493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0745 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Viktor Zatsepin]

[Text] Bangkok July 23 TASS—President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan ended his official visit to Thailand on Friday.

During his stay in Bangkok he negotiated with Thai Prime Minister Chuan Likhphai about Kazakh-Thai bilateral relations and their overall strengthening. The sides paid much attention to the development of economic cooperation and touched upon current regional and international problems. They noted concurrence of opinions on many issues discussed.

According to Likhphai, national economies of the two countries are capable of supplementing each other. Kazakhstan is rich in natural resources, whereas Thailand is deprived of them. The latter depends on oil, metal and many other imports, which are available in the former Soviet republic.

The parties agreed to establish a joint commission on bilateral cooperation between the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The two parties issued a joint statement in which they noted availability of ample opportunities for strengthening the bilateral economic cooperation, emphasized the need for expanding trade, stimulating investments and developing joint production.

Nazarbayev met the Thai king, representatives of the Thai business community.

Prime Minister To Discuss Trade, Security in Australia

LD2307052593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0405 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Kuznetsov]

[Text] Canberra, 23 Jul—Kazakhstan Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko arrived on a three-day visit to Australia today. This is the first visit by the head of the Kazakhstan government to the fifth continent.

S. Tereshchenko will meet the Australian ministers of foreign affairs and trade and representatives of the country's industrial and agricultural companies. It is expected that agreements on economic and trade cooperation and on mutual encouragement and protection of investments will be signed between Australia and Kazakhstan.

According to Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, problems of disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and regional security will also be discussed during the talks.

Tajikistan

Deputy Speaker Describes Border Situation

LD2207170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe July 22 TASS—The operational situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is fully controlled by Russian border guard forces. No big combat clashes have been recorded since the tragic events of July 13, Abdumadzhid Dostiyev, first deputy speaker of the Tajikistan Parliament, told foreign correspondents at a briefing on Thursday [22 July].

Having emphasised that some news media overdramatise the situation, the deputy speaker admitted that a number of border pickets of the Moskovskiy and Panj border detachments are still periodically fired upon from the territory of the Islamic State of Afhganistan.

In particular, the 11th border picket of the Moskovskiy border detachment was fired upon by artillery guns from Afghan territory last night, a spokesman at the Tajik Foreign Ministry's information department told ITAR-TASS. The border guards returned the fire and neutralised the weapon emplacements on the other side. There was no loss of life among border guards.

However, the deputy speaker said, "there can be no question of any large-scale breaking through across the border."

Despite the actions of small armed anti-government groups in some mountainous areas of the republic, including those on the territory of the Pamirs (an autonomous area within Tajikistan), an overwhelming majority of the population of the regions support the Tajik authorities' efforts towards the establishment of civil peace in the republic.

Asked by an ITAR-TASS correspondent whether the authorities of Tajikistan are ready for a political dialogue with opposition leaders and the so-called government-in-exile that has ensconced itself in one of contiguous countries, the deputy speaker said he did not regard as an opposition "the handful of cutthroats who fled the country and declared themselves to be a government".

Dostiyev added that after the 16th session of the Tajik Parliament in December last year, the new authorities suggested discussing matters aimed at revitalising the republic economically at a round-table meeting together with the leaders of opposition political parties and movements. However, none of them responded to a call from the legitimate leadership.

A relationship with Russia was touched upon at the briefing. In this connection Dostiyev unambiguously stated that relations between Tajikistan and Russia are based on equality. The two peoples are brought together not only by 70 years of Soviet power but also by centuries-long relations. "We shall continue to maintain these relations and strengthen them in every way", he emphasised.

Russian Officer Denies Reports of Fighting

LD2207115793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1109 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—An officer on duty in the Russian border troops in Tajikistan denied reports about fighting at several military outposts on the Tajik-Afghan border last night.

He told ITAR-TASS by phone that militants tried to illegally cross the border only on the section controlled by the 11th Moscow border guards unit. But they were stopped by border guards and soldiers of the attached 201st motorised infantry division. The press centre of the Russian Defence Ministry also confirmed this report.

The officer also denied reports about an artillery attack against Afghan border regions, adding that on the whole the situation on the border remains calm.

Opposition Attacks Aid Convoy

LD2207203393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Correspondent Irina Arkhiyeva called Dushanbe. Suleyman Rashidov, an official of the Department of Information of the Tajikistan Foreign Ministry, began the conversation with the following news:

[Begin recording] [Rashidov] A cargo of aid—foodstuffs, fuel and lubricants, children's foodstuffs and clothing—en route to Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast was fired on near Tavildara. Nine of the people accompanying the cargo were killed and five were wounded.

[Arkhiyeva] Who opened fire?

[Rashidov] The opposition forces who control several sections of the road.

[Arkhiyeva] Who dispatched the cargo?

[Rashidov] The cargo was dispatched from Dushanbe by the Tajik Government. But it did not arrive. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Border Post Shelled From Afghanistan

LD2307100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0910 GMT 23 Jul 93

[By Roman Zadunayskiy, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul—The 11th border post of the Moskovskiy border detachment of Russian troops in Tajikistan was subjected to mortar shelling from Afghanistan three times between the afternoon of 22 July and the morning of 23 July. One of the shells hit the compound of a subunit of the Tajik National Security Committee. The building was damaged, but there are no casualties, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by the press service of Russian Federation border troops.

On the evening of 22 July a rocket bombardment was directed at guerrilla groups from the positions of the 11th border post. The groups were dispersed.

Rakhmanov, Afghan Sect Leader Discuss Issues

LD2207192293 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov on 21 July received Sayyed Mansur Naderi, leader of the Ismailis of Afghanistan. Issues relating to the situation on the border were discussed during cordial talks. The Tajikistan leader expressed concern with tragic events on some sections of the border. Sayyed Mansur Naderi promised to seek measures to stabilize the situation on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

Economic Freedom Party Criticizes Russian Presence

MK2207122093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 2

[NEGA report under the "War" rubric: "Tajikistan Is Yet To Come Home to Roost in Russia"]

[Text] Tajikistan's Economic Freedom Party has made a statement that says in part: "The Russian troops in Tajikistan have become involved in a deeply rooted internal conflict, in a civil war in fact. They have not become involved as peacemaking forces, but, unfortunately, as a tool of one of the warring sides—the current Dushanbe government, which is a direct successor to the former party nomenklatura.... The absence of correct priorities in Russia's foreign policy in Tajikistan may negatively affect developments both inside Russia and its relations with the world community. The developments in Tajikistan can compromise the inexperienced democratic authorities in Russia and lead to their removal...."

Security Operation 'Successful' Against Gangsters

LD2207195793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1907 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe July 22 TASS—A large-scale operation "order" which is carried out by units of the Committee of National Security and the Interior Ministry of Tajikistan, continues in the capital of the republic, Dushanbe.

As a result of a successful operation, officers of the Committee of National Security put a stop to the activities of a big armed gangster group which committed murders, robberies and took hostages on the territory of the city, a spokesman for the center of public relations of the Committee of National Security told ITAR-TASS.

Five most active members of the gangster group were arrested. An action has been brought against all five in accordance with Article 74 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Tajikistan (gangsterism).

Assessing the crime situation in Dushanbe, heads of law enforcement bodies of the republic called it sufficiently serious, noting that there are still many various well armed criminal gangs in the capital.

At the same time, heads of law enforcement bodies denied the recently spread rumours about the appearance in Dushanbe of large terrorist groups of political orientation which allegedly set themselves the aim to carry out acts of terrorism against the Russian speaking population in order to provoke a new spiral of migration of the non-indigenous population from the republic, and thus make groundless the stationing of Russian troops on the Tajik territory. The center of public relations of the Committee of National Security regarded these rumours as yet another provocation carried out by certain political forces of the Tajik Republic.

Turkmenistan

President Threatens Government Reshuffling

LD2207214393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat July 22 TASS—President of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov threatened a major reshuffling of high-ranking officials and announced that a national conference will be held in the near future to discuss "the responsibility of supreme authority before the people".

At a government meeting on Thursday he blasted top officials for "protectionism, clan interests, embezzlements and selfishness" which, he said, are tantamount to the betrayal of interests of independent Turkmenistan.

The president of the Central Asian Republic called on the parliament to increase control over the activities of high-ranking officials.

The parliament should guarantee permanent responsibility of the supreme authority before the people, he stressed.

Armenia

Yerevan Updates Fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh 20-21 Jul

NC2207185093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The latest reports from Nagorno-Karabakh indicate that the military operations continue unabated. Combat operations have intensified as a result of the extensive attack launched by the Azerbaijan National Army on 21 July. As reported earlier, Azerbaijan's military units in Agdamskiy Rayon shelled the residential areas and defense positions in NKR's Askeranskiy Rayon with artillery guns and rocket launchers and then bombed them with military aircraft. They later attacked with tanks and armored vehicles. There were dead and wounded on both sides. However, Azerbaijan lost a greater number of men and combat vehicles. The attack was unexpected. That incident has shown that although Azerbaijan's leaders claim that they wish to have the problem solved in accordance with the proposals made by the nine CSCE countries, they have not abandoned their intention to settle the dispute through armed force.

The NKR officials have described Azerbaijan's latest attack as a move to undermine CSCE's peace initiatives.

The situation was rather tense yesterday and last night. Azerbaijan's military forces tried to maintain their onslaught in several directions. However, their effort was unsuccessful. The NKR defense forces not only obstructed the enemy attack but also counterattacked. The fighting is close to Agdam city at the present time.

The Armenian side has called on the enemy to agree to a cease- fire several times. Furthermore, it warned that all the military positions that threaten NKR's residential areas will be rendered ineffective. Undoubtedly, our listeners are aware that the enemy has converted its areas close to NKR's border—including Agdamskiy, Terterskiy, Kubatlinskiy and other rayons—into military bases. The enemy units have not only fired on NKR's cities and towns from those areas but have also launched wide-scale attacks against the Armenians.

Obviously, the ruling circles in Azerbaijan are not concerned with the future and security of their citizens. Had that not been the case, they would have refrained from converting the residential areas in Azerbaijan into military bases. They are well-aware that [words indistinct]. The Armenians will return their fire.

The incidents have proven that Azerbaijan maintains its provocative activities. And, as a rule, it tries to describe the NKR as a threat. The latest broad attack is the outcome of its irresponsible position. Nevertheless, Azerbaijan's mass media organs have distorted the facts yet again. Quoting that republic's military command headquarters, they have reported that the attack was initiated by the Armenian side.

The latest reports we have received said that three Armenian fighters were killed and five others were wounded in the fighting that took place at about 1700 on 20 July. However, Azerbaijan lost 20 men and a tank.

The situation has been tense at the other battlefronts in Nagorno-Karabakh. Mardakert and several nearby towns were intensively shelled by artillery from Azerbaijan on the night of 21 July. We have not received any accurate information on the number of casualties. Azerbaijan's military units also launched an attack against Martuninskiy Rayon on the same day. They succeeded in advancing in several areas. The fighting in that region continues.

Azerbaijan's military positions in Agdamskiy Rayon shelled Stepanakert, which is NKR's capital, with artillery again at 1930 last night. That capital was the target of 12 shells. The attack caused significant damage. We have not yet received any accurate report on the dead and wounded.

Karabakh Denies Attack on Agdam

NC2207183193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's [NKR] defense army headquarters categorically refuted the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry statement that the Karabakh forces have allegedly occupied the southern suburbs of Agdam city.

In actual fact, the Azerbaijanis have been launching incessant attacks against the entire eastern border of Askeranskiy Rayon, which borders on Agdamskiy Rayon, since the early morning of 21 July. The NKR defense army subunits had a hard time containing the enemy's strong pressure, which was augmented with air raids, artillery shelling, tank fire, and surface-to-surface missile attacks. Both sides suffered losses.

The suburbs of Stepanakert came under artillery and rocket shelling from Agdamskiy Rayon in the morning of 22 July. The artillery shelling was accompanied by flights of Azerbaijani warplanes over Stepanakert in the evening of 21 July and in the morning of 22 July. These flights dropped cluster bombs on city suburbs. Faced with countermeasures, the Azerbaijani aircraft could not manage to bomb the central part of the city. The air raids caused considerable damage. The casualty figures are being determined.

The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that there was shooting for a brief period on the defensive positions near Vazashen in Idzhevanskiy Rayon and Areni in Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon from large-caliber machine guns yesterday evening.

A relative calm has been prevailing on the rest of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border since last night.

Committee on Downing of Plane

NC2307065793 Yerevan SNARK in English 0549 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Stepanakert, July 22 (SNARK)—The representatives of the Doctors Without Borders Organization who are in Karabakh now witnessed the July 22 morning shelling on Stepanakert. Karabakh Defence State Committee informed SNARK that "surface-air" shell-splinters were founded at the places of the rockets explosions.

According to the same source, a warplane of Azerbaijani Air Forces was knocked down by Karabakh anti-air forces. The Azerbaijani warplane was bombing Karabakh army positions in the Askeran region in Karabakh.

Stepanakert Shelled 23 Jul

NC2307095293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0841 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Stepanakert, July 23 (SNARK)—This morning Stepanakert was again shelled by the Azerbaijani artillery.

The Karabakh department of press and information told SNARK two missiles of C-200 type shelled Stepanakert to destructions. No reports on victims.

The department told SNARK the Karabakh forces managed to repel the attack of the Azerbaijani Army to the Edillu village Gadrut region.

The battles at the northern Karabakh are also going on. This morning the Azeris attacked in the direction of the Madagiz village, Mardakert. Reports on losses.

No hard battles in the Agdam-Askeran region.

The observers are of the opinion that Azerbaijan is going to intensify the situation at the parts of the Karabakh front.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Karabakh, Diaspora

MK2207112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1,3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan by Liana Minasyan and Armen Khanbabyan: "Armenia's Main Foreign Policy Objective Is To Find a Civilized Solution to the Karabakh Problem"; place and date not given]

[Text] [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] The Karabakh problem is palpably affecting the situation in Armenia. Can it be reckoned that the activity of the Republic's Foreign Ministry boils down primarily to "servicing" its foreign policy aspects? And do the interests of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh always coincide on the international scene?

[Papazyan] Indeed, there have been differences, but Karabakh is as yet unable to enter the international scene on its own, although it has not only its own interests, but also its own ties, say, between Stepanakert and Moscow. With regard to contacts at the level of the CSCE or the UN Security Council, the Karabakhis act through Armenia's mediation.

The Karabakh problem affects Armenia's foreign policy in a very direct and serious manner: Virtually all my conversations with foreign counterparts focus on it because the main objective of our foreign policy is to find a political solution to the problem, and all our scarce capacities have been dedicated to this end. The constant presence of the Karabakh conflict in the context of our relations with the West may hinder the establishment of normal bilateral relations, though. As for Russia, we are allies, and we are trying together with the Russian Foreign Ministry to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Karabakh conflict.

As a matter of fact, if we compare Armenia's activity with that of our neighbors, particularly former Soviet republics, we have achieved more than they have and will achieve even more. Our embassies and missions already operate in 14 countries.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Have changes in the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh played any role in your relations?

[Papazyan] Obviously, it is easier to work when party interests do not affect our relations.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] It is believed, however, that the vector of Armenia's foreign policy is clearly directed northward, and at least for this reason it is not yet sufficiently "foreign."

[Papazyan] No, I do not agree. Naturally, Armenia has up to now remained in close "linkage" with Russia, but our concept is totally different—we are members of the CIS; we have obligations with regard to Commonwealth countries, so we have to and try to fulfill them. But at the same time, as an independent state, Armenia is trying to forge normal relations with its immediate neighbors first of all. This depends not only on our wish, but also on our internal resources and capacities—on to what extent we are capable of integration into the world community. I think other CIS countries are pursuing similar policies, looking for "relations elsewhere."

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Difficulties arise probably from a very close integration in the past, don't they?

[Papazyan] There have been difficulties, but they may be overcome, if all the CIS countries, Russia in the first place, take a softer stance regarding each other. For the

time being, however, we are interested in as close a cooperation with Russia as possible, at least because of the Karabakh problem.

In addition, our situation can be better understood in comparison. Unlike our immediate neighbors, not only do we manage to keep our statehood and its structures stable, but we also build on them. Partners perceive the seriousness of our intentions. But until we find a peaceful, civilized solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, I cannot be satisfied with how things stand.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Do you think, as your president does, that a bilateral dialogue with Azerbaijan without mediators has become impossible?

[Papazyan] Yes, I do. But if such proposals emerge, they will have to be addressed to Baku and Stepanakert, not to us. And if both conflicting parties reach agreement, there will be no objections on our part. We are ready to accept any status the Karabakhis may choose for themselves. The problem lies elsewhere. If any agreement is to be achieved, a direct dialogue between Karabakh and Azerbaijan is indispensable. But Baku has so far refused to enter into talks with the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR]. This is an insurmountable psychological barrier for Azerbaijan. I doubt whether Azerbaijan's current leaders, too, are able to overcome this stereotype. Before coming to power, they made statements and pledges that afterward very much hinder their search for peaceful solutions to the conflict. As a matter of fact, we do not link our policy regarding the Karabakh issue to specific personalities. It is important for Armenia that there is a stable and legitimate authority in Baku, responsible for its decisions.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How do you assess the recent efforts by the CSCE to bring about a settlement to the conflict and the initiative of the "Group of Nine"?

[Papazyan] I hope that their efforts would help achieve a cease-fire. Only after this is done can we talk about the beginning of talks. War and a peace process have different logic, different laws of evolution. It is essential that the peace trend should prevail, but will Azerbaijan be able painstakingly to fulfill all the obligations it has assumed, given the political instability reigning there? This is why both we and the Karabakhis would prefer to deal with legitimate and stable authorities in Baku.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Has a certain degree of internal political stability anything to do with the fact that Armenia is trying to avoid tensions in its relations with Russia? Are there any apprehensions that Russia will continue to exert a hard pressure on the Transcaucasus countries?

[Papazyan] Undoubtedly, Moscow has its own interests in Transcaucasus and is trying to protect them. This is a normal phenomenon. The art of politics boils down to finding forms of collaboration acceptable for all. As far as one can judge, Armenia has so far managed to do so. In Azerbaijan, for instance, they have been counting on a new "big brother" with a great enthusiasm, which, as experience has shown, hinders a normal dialogue.

Our relations with Russia are fairly peculiar—the authorities are loyal to Russia and the opposition parties are trying to outdo each other in "pro-Russian" sentiments. The fact that the political spectrum to the right of the president is empty is also a problem for us.

As for the tendencies toward the restoration of the empire.... You know, I believe that both the Russian authorities and the majority of Russian citizens are perfectly aware that should this happen, it will be a terrible blow at the interests of Russia itself, both political and economic ones. At present, for the first time in a long while, the Russians have a chance to build a democratic state, not yet another empire. I hope they will not miss this chance. If imperial tendencies prevail, however, they will lead to grievous consequences, create political chaos, and end in nothing. But a new renaissance will have to begin from a much "lower start."

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] If the authorities and the opposition do not have significant differences regarding the approach to Russia, however, this cannot be said about approaches with regard to the diaspora....

[Papazyan] It depends on what you mean by the diaspora. It does not exist as a single community. There are Middle Eastern, North American, Latin American, French, and Russian Armenian diasporas. There are nuances that should be taken into account in relations with them. In West Europe and, in part, in the United States, we are dealing with personalities and speaking the same language with them—these are intellectuals, who adequately perceive our policies.

The Middle East is dominated by party structures whose interests take precedence over those of the Armenian state. A certain part of Armenian society has already accepted new political and social realities, whereas traditional parties continue to act proceeding from the emotional perception of history, which hampers us very much. There is no and cannot be any cooperation with them.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] So, is this the reason for disagreements on granting the republic's citizenship to all Armenians abroad?

[Papazyan] This is a two-pronged problem. Armenia's incumbent authorities, unlike the opposition, believe that Armenian citizenship should be granted to diaspora members on a case-by-case basis—when people return to their historical homeland forever.

There are real interests of the residents of Armenia. An Armenian living in Los Angeles may, without much effort, buy a house for a few thousand dollars—I know, there are many people wishing to do so. This may put local Armenians in an inherently disadvantageous position. In addition, there are obligations besides civil rights—one has to pay taxes, serve in the army.

All this has to be considered. Of course, Armenians are not "to blame" for being scattered throughout the world as a result of the 1915 genocide. Their desire to become Armenian citizens is understandable, and we are trying to find solutions to ease for them the procedure of obtaining citizenship or at least of visiting Armenia. This matter will be decided upon after a discussion in parliament.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Should Armenia, like Russia, strictly protect the rights of its compatriots living abroad?

[Papazyan] The main objective of the Foreign Ministry is to protect the rights of Armenian citizens living and working abroad. However, we are trying to get certain benefits for members of the diaspora, too. In particular, I held talks on the subject in Athens.

As for Armenians in Russia, it is possible to find a civilized, mutually acceptable solution to this problem with the current Russian leadership.

Speaks at UN News Conference

NC2207193893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] At a news conference held at the UN Headquarters, the Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan stated: Armenia's position on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been clear and consistent from the very start. This is a conflict between the people of Karabakh, who seek self-determination, and the Azerbaijani Government, which refuses to recognize this legitimate right. Armenia has no territorial designs on Azerbaijan, nor any fighting army in Nagorno-Karabakh or on any territory of Azerbaijan. However, it cannot be denied that Armenia is providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and that it cannot accept a military solution to the problem that would be tantamount to humiliation and deportation of the Armenian population.

The Armenian Government fully supports the UN Security Council Resolution 822 on Nagorno-Karabakh, and considers the initiative of the CSCE's nine-plus-one a serious opportunity to end the war and establish peace in the region. Both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh have agreed to the terms of this initiative.

Views Conflict, Urges Cease-Fire

AU2307111393 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jul 93 p 4

[Report signed "kum.": "Armenia Calls Upon CSCE To Guarantee Cease-Fire"]

[Excerpts] Bonn, 22 July—In the war on the Transcaucasus region of Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia is urging an early cease-fire but also demands guarantees preventing Azerbaijan from exploiting the armistice. This is what Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan said in an interview with this newspaper. Diplomats of the CSCE peace conference met in Rome on 22 July to discuss the revised version of a U.S.-Russian-Turkish plan on a solution to the conflict between Armenian and Azerbaijanian troops. Azerbaijan, on whose territory Nagorno-Karabakh is located, which was declared independent and is governed by Armenians, and Armenia have agreed to the CSCE plan. The Nagorno-Karabakh leadership has only accepted it on certain conditions. During his visit to the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, Stepanakert, earlier this month, the Italian chairman of the CSCE peace conference, Mario Raffaelli, was confronted with additional demands, even though the deputy president of the Nagorno-Karabakh parliament had signed the peace plan in June. According to the new demands from Stepanakert, the time schedule for a cease-fire had to be postponed once again. [passage omitted]

Armenian Foreign Minister Papazyan told this newspaper that the CSCE has not been able to promise the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh that Azerbaijan will not use the cease-fire to regain lost territory. The foreign minister thus backs demands from Nagorno-Karabakh that are based on military successes against the Azerbaijani Army. The commanders of the territorial defense of Nagorno-Karabakh reject the idea that Azerbaijanian troops could advance to the Kelbadzhar corridor, once the Armenian units have withdrawn. Papazyan called for "guarantees." He said the CSCE must guarantee that a cease-fire does not help strengthen the Armenians militarily. The Armenian government did not see that the CSCE had the necessary instruments to do so, he said.

Papazyan, who had met with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Washington and then held talks with Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel in Bonn, also pointed out the insecure state of affairs resulting from the domestic situation in Azerbaijan. He said that it was true that following the overthrow of elected President Elchibey, the new ruler, Aliyev, advocated peace, but his prime minister, rebel leader Guseynov, had not yet commented on the CSCE initiative, nor had Raffaelli received a response from Guseynov. Following several military defeats of the Azerbaijanian Army against the Armenians, the officer had been dismissed by Elchibey, whereupon he turned against the president with his troops.

Papazyan said that, despite the imponderables, Armenia was having an interest in seeing a dateline fixed, on which a new cease-fire should go into effect. "We have done a lot to convince the government in Nagorno-Karabakh that it should sign the peace plan," he said. The Armenian government under Ter-Petrosyan was under "enormous pressure" to protect the interests of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, on the one hand, and make sure, on the other, that the consequences of the war not burden the country too much. Armenia is economically isolated now that the trade routes and energy supply lines via Turkey and Azerbaijan are interrupted. Following the Armenian spring offensive that was aimed at conquering the Kelbadzhar corridor, Turkey imposed

an embargo on the eastern neighbor country. The foreign minister said, however, that there could be no talk about Armenia being politically isolated. The efforts for a cease-fire were particularly supported by the United States and Russia in Armenia's interests. He said he also met with Foreign Minister Kinkel's understanding for the Armenian position. Papzyan described his talks with Kinkel as "encouraging."

He said that Nagorno-Karabakh's future must be clarified in peace negotiations. The goal of such negotiations was absolutely open, said the Armenian politician. However, Armenia insisted on a status of the region that would give the Armenians more rights than just autonomy within Azerbaijan, in other words, more independence than in the prewar era. Armenia has so far not recognized Nagorno-Karabakh's independence and has only admitted several months ago that it is involved in the war over Nagorno-Karabakh. However, Papazyan disputed a military commitment by his country. He said that no regular troops from Armenia were taking part in fighting; rather the Azerbaijanian units were only confronted with Nagorno-Karabakh's territorial defense forces.

Foreign Ministry Reacts to Azeri 'Propaganda'

NC2307040693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Statement issued by the Armenian Foreign Ministry; date not given]

[Text] On the eve of the implementation of the next stage in the peace process by the CSCE's Minsk Group, the representatives of the official Azerbaijani organs have again resorted to propaganda disinformation by disseminating false reports on the occupation of Agdam by Karabakh forces.

According to some reports, the Azerbaijani Army units belonging to Surat Guseynov, supported by 12 armored cars, struck out from the north and south of Agdam and launched an attack against the positions of the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces on 21 July. The Nagorno-Karabakh defense army resisted the attacks and then launched a counterattack and repulsed the enemy.

Stepanakert began to receive 152-mm long-range artillery shells from Agdam's railway station as of 1900 on 21 July; 14 shells fell on the city. The casualty figures are being determined.

These facts are being confirmed by the representatives of the International Red Cross and foreign reporters who are in Stepanakert.

Combat operations intensified with particular fierceness against Askeran throughout the night and in the morning of 22 July. The Azerbaijani side used air power during its combat operations on 22 July.

An extremely tense situation has also arisen near Magavuz in Mardakertskiy Rayon.

There is no reliable information that Geydar Aliyev had any prior information about these operations.

It is obvious that the exacerbation of the combat situation around Nagorno-Karabakh is a reflection of continued instability in Azerbaijan and the struggle for power. The present Azerbaijani leadership is trying to resolve the internal crisis on the Karabakh fronts and hence is responsible for the intensification of the confrontation, and this (?casts doubts) on their ability to implement the CSCE peace plan.

President, Others Attend Border Guards Congress

NC2307091693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Excerpts] The first border guards congress opened today at the Opera and Ballet National Theater. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan, and the acting defense minister, Chief of the General Staff Lieutenant General Norat Ter-Grigoryants, attended the ceremonial opening. [passage omitted]

The congress established an agenda and went on to elect congress bodies.

Vazgen Sargisyan, state minister and commander of the border guards, Major-General Arkadiy Ter-Tadevosyan, and Deputy Defense Minister (Ashot) Petrosyan discussed the phases in the creation of the border guard detachments and the new Armenian Army and episodes in military history. Asked to comment on the reasons for the congress, State Minister Vazgen Sargisyan replied:

[Begin Sargisyan recording] The border guards have tried to solve their basic problems, but the border detachments contributed to the formation of the state and its structures; they contributed with their blood, sweat, and tears. Consequently, they have established the state and this Army [passage indistinct]. The fighters have completed their task, but they should (?continue) to use their strength and good intentions to strengthen and consolidate the state in ideological, moral, psychological, and human terms. They need protection. There are wounded among them and they need protection [passage indistinct]. A department will be set up to look into these issues. [end recording]

The congress participants visited the Armenian freedom-fighters pantheon at Yeraplur and paid their respects to the sons of Armenia who died heroically on the battlefields.

The congress will continue its work tomorrow.

Defense Minister Undergoes Heart Surgery in France

NC2107150693 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1412 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] The Armenian Acting Defense Minister Vazgen Manukyan, who is in France for medical treatment, underwent a heart operation yesterday.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Receives Turkish Foreign Ministry Official

NC2207132593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1140 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, 22.07.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Somebody is interested that Turkish community is misinformed on events in Azerbaijan said acting President Chairman of Supreme Soviet of the Republic Geydar Aliyev receiving today on July 22, Deputy of Foreign Minister Ozden Sanberk. So these events cannot affect negatively mutual relations of our two countries. In his turn Ozden Sanberk stated that Turkey always observed the events in Azerbaijan. Attentively not once demanded the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzharskiy, Turkey will never let Azerbaijan down he said.

Turkish Official Brings Message

NC2207135393 Baku TURAN in English 1301 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, 22 July (TURAN)—Today Chairman of Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev receives Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey Ozden Sanberk.

As TURAN agency was informed, Ozden Sanberk would hand personal message of Turkish President Suleyman Demirel to the head of Azerbaijani parliament, in which he expressed concern about the latest developments in Azerbaijan, in particular, about the arrests of former leaders of the country.

As TURAN agency had been credibly informed, Turkey was intended to introduce serious restrictions on shipment of Azeri oil through the Bosphorus.

The second secretary of Turkish Embassy in Baku Nefzat Yanik confirmed the information about intentions of Turkish Government to limit the transportation of oil through the Bosphorus "in connection with overloadness" of the route.

Judging on sharp statement of MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] of Turkey last Monday on developments in Azerbaijan, Ankara is not intended humbly perceive new course of Azeri ship to the north.

Aliyev Stresses Importance of Ties

LD2207164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1517 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 22 TASS—Relations with Turkey remain an important factor for Azerbaijan and its foreign policy. The current processes in the republic cannot affect relations between the two neighbouring states, Azerbaijani Parliament Chairman Geydar Aliyev said.

Speaking at a meeting with the Turkish president's envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Ozden Sanberk, Aliyev expressed puzzlement over the fact that "the mass media of the neighbouring country give unobjective coverage to events and processes in Azerbaijan, thus contributing to the creation of a distorted opinion in Turkish society."

Of special concern are some publications and statements carried by the Turkish press concerning Azerbaijan's decision to postpone the signing of oil contracts with leading foreign companies. This causes unwanted rumours, Aliyev said.

"There is no problem here. Every state has the right to reconsider its contracts with foreign partners. Moreover, in this particular case it is not the contracts,—they do not exist—but a declaration of sides welcoming the signing of such documents. Therefore there is no point in making so much fuss about it," Aliyev said. He added that this question will be solved properly on a civilised level. The difficulties in the republic's political life have only postponed this work, not halted it.

Sanberk expressed understanding of the Azerbaijani leadership's position, stressing that his country has always supported the neighbouring friendly state, its democratic reforms and struggle for territorial integrity. Turkey will not leave Azerbaijan alone at the time of trials, Sanberk said, adding that all processes should be carried out on the basis of international law and democratic principles. He handed over to Aliyev a letter from Turkish President Suleyman Demirel.

Aliyev on Pipeline Pact

TA2207183893 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, has given assurances that the oil pipeline agreement signed with Turkey last March is still valid. In Baku, Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Ozden Sanberk handed Aliyev a message from President Suleyman Demirel. Sanberk made the following statement to the Turkish Radio and Television on the meeting:

[Begin Sanberk recording] Aliyev especially stressed two points. One of them was that the oil pipeline agreement signed between the two countries on 9 March is still

valid. The second point is that legal and political decisions in Azerbaijan will be made in accordance with the laws and the constitution in a matter befitting a CSCE member country.

If we return to the first point on the issue of the oil pipeline, you know that our press has expressed certain justified concerns. There have been certain doubts in Turkey on the issue for the last few days. These doubts concern the cancellation of the agreements that Turkey and Azerbaijan signed earlier. The announcements made today have dispelled all these doubts. The source of the confusion is that there are two separate but linked issues. One concerns oil prospecting areas and the other is about the transfer to the Mediterranean of the oil to be drilled. In other words, the transfer through Turkey. Azerbaijan is still continuing to hold negotiations with many countries on the issue of oil prospecting. A final stage has yet to be reached on this issue. On the second issue, however, that being the route of the transfer and the pipeline, Aliyev today gave us assurances that the oil in the Caspian Sea will be transferred to Western markets via Turkey. The 9 March 1993 agreement on the services Turkey will provide Azerbaijan in the event the pipeline passes through the Baku-Ceyhan line is still valid. [end recording]

Aliyev, Sanberk Comment

NC2307040893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, received Ozden Sanberk, Turkey's deputy foreign minister, today. Candan [name indistinct], Turkish foreign ministry's responsible envoy to the republics in the Caucasus; Altan Karamanoglu, Turkey's ambassador to Azerbaijan; State Adviser Vefa Kulizade; Deputy Foreign Minister Albert Salamov; and [name indistinct], head of one of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet departments, attended the meeting. Geydar Aliyev and Ozden Sanberk addressed the journalists after their meeting. Aliyev said the following:

[Begin Aliyev recording] We held fruitful talks with the esteemed delegation from Turkey. Ozden Sanberk, who is President Demirel's personal envoy, has arrived here in accordance with Suleyman Demirel's instructions. I am very happy that President Suleyman Demirel has conveyed a letter to us, which is related to further improving and broadening relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan in the future. [passage indistinct]

I wish to stress Turkey's significant role in the effort to solve the Karabakh problem. Turkey, the United States, and Russia recently made an initiative on the matter. Meanwhile, they have carried out work within the CSCE framework. The effort within the CSCE is continuing. The problem is being discussed by the nine CSCE representatives in Rome.

Meanwhile, the Armenian Armed Forces have launched a new attack on Agdam. Bloody battles are now being fought in that area. Nevertheless, Azerbaijan wishes to reiterate that it supports the effort made to find a peaceful solution to the dispute. In view of that, I urge Turkey to actively participate in the effort to solve the problems.

Undoubtedly, we will cooperate in various fields, including the economic, cultural, and scientific fields. We have the opportunity at the present time to improve the traditions, friendship, and fraternal relations which have existed between Turkey and Azerbaijan for many centuries. [passage indistinct]

The productive use of Azerbaijan's oil resources is one of the important economic issues. Talks have been held with foreign companies on the subject and [word indistinct] have been signed with them. [passage indistinct]

I wish to stress that Azerbaijan plans to cooperate with all foreign companies. Yes, Azerbaijan will cooperate with them. No one should have any doubt about that. Certain reports published in the press and other media organs on that subject are only aimed at disrupting our relations. I wish to assure you in that regard. Meanwhile, an important question is an oil pipeline from Azerbaijan to the Mediterranean Sea, a matter which is related to the extraction, processing, and sale of Azerbaijan's oil jointly with foreign companies. That matter has been resolved. An agreement was signed on that subject on 9 March. Turkey's leading officials also signed that agreement.

I wish to stress that nothing will be allowed to harm that agreement. Our contacts and talks with the oil companies will be finalized and, undoubtedly, the question of transporting the oil will be resolved by laying a pipeline through Turkey. No one should doubt that. I am convinced that the individuals who [words indistinct] in the Turkish newspapers will harm Turkey and Azerbaijan. That is all that I wish to say. [end recording]

Ozden Sanberk said the following:

[Begin Sanberk recording] Mr. Aliyev, thank you. I only wish [words indistinct] and stress that you have informed us that Azerbaijan will comply with the CSCE principles. Our friendship and fraternal relations will be further strengthened in the future. Thank you. [end recording]

Geydar Aliyev responded to Ozden Sanberk as follows:

[Begin Aliyev recording] I wish to reiterate that all the work the Azerbaijan Government will carry out will be within the framework of the laws and the Constitution and in accordance with the international concept of human rights and the CSCE [words indistinct]. No one should doubt that. No one in Turkey should doubt that and engage in propaganda against us. Thank you. [end recording]

Armenian Forces Occupy Agdam Suburbs, Advance to North

LD2207133393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] The Karabakh formations which on Wednesday [21 July] attacked the Azerbaijani center of Agdam, adjacent to Karabakh, today occupied its western suburbs, the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry reports. The Armenian forces are also advancing to the north of Agdam, but the Azerbaijani forces are at the moment maintaining their. Since 0700 today, Agdam and the roads leading to it have been subjected to continuous missile and artillery shelling.

Incidentally, the Nagorno-Karabakh defense army headquarters refutes Baku's report on an Armenian offensive against Agdam.

Situation in Agdam Described

NC2207140593 Baku TURAN in English 1301 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 22 (TURAN)—Armenian Army is not ceasing the attempts to circle Azeri town Agdam on the east of Karabakh, despite of serious losses.

Tonight armoured units of Armenian Army tried to cut off motor highways Agdam-Barda and Agdam-Agdzhabedi. According to the information of Azerbaijani Defense Ministry, two tank divisions and three motor rifle companies were taking place in Armenian advance. Azeri Army managed to stop Armenian advance by the morning, though with numerous losses.

At the same time Armenian artillery, consolidated at the leading heights on the doorsteps of Agdam, is holding at times massive shelling of the town. There are killed and wounded in the town.

Aircraft Downed Amid Fighting

NC2207155893 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, July 22 (AFP)—Two combat aircraft were downed Thursday amid fierce fighting between Azerbaijani troops and Armenian separatists in the disputed Azerbaijani enclave of Nagorno- Karabakh, authorities in the enclave said.

The Azerbaijani fighter and combat helicopter were downed over the enclave at around 5.00 p.m. (1300 GMT) by Armenian anti-aircraft batteries, a spokesman for separatist authorities in Stepanakert told AFP.

Fierce clashes continued meanwhile on the western edge of the town of Agdam, the site of Azerbaijani military headquarters, where the separatists had "repulsed an Azerbaijani offensive" and launched a counter-attack, the spokesman said.

Authorities in Baku and Stepanakert, chief town of Nagorno- Karabakh, blamed each other for the clashes, which come as peace talks are due to resume in Rome on ending the conflict.

Authorities in Agdam, located two kilometres (1.2 miles) east of Nagorno-Karabakh, said the fighting had killed 40 people and injured 100. They said the town had suffered massive destruction.

"If the shelling continues for another few days, nothing will be left of the city but ruins," said Gasym Kerimov, the mayor of Agdam.

Earlier Thursday the Azerbaijani defense ministry said Armenian troops took two villages near Agdam.

Authorities in Baku said the separatists had also claimed control overnight of a strategic hillside located northeast of Nagorno- Karabakh, opposite the Azerbaijani village of Ter-Ter.

The separatists denied they intend to overrun the town.

They said their troops had beaten back an offensive by Azerbaijani forces on the town of Askeran, located between Agdam and Stepanakert.

Armenian authorities, whose forces now control nearly all of the disputed enclave, called on Baku "to face up to reality."

Both sides are due to meet in Rome soon to discuss the implementation of a peace plan sponsored by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Russian peace negotiator Vladimir Kazimirov met with Azerbaijani leader Geydar Aliyev Tuesday to discuss the peace plan, which has run into problems from Armenian leaders in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Stepanakert opposes a proposed timetable for the withdrawal of troops from the Azerbaijani region of Kelbadzhar, which was seized by Armenian fighters last April.

Kazimirov told reporters following his meeting with Aliyev that concrete steps were needed from all sides now that the conflict "has exported destabilisation to other regions."

The Armenian-populated enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh has been fighting a secessionist war since 1988.

Armenians Inflict 'Disastrous Damage'

LD2207210593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1641 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow/Baku/Yerevan July 22 TASS—"The Azerbaijani city of Agdam, the administrative centre of

Agdam District, is being fiercely attacked by Armenian troops," the AZERTAC news agency reported on Thursday [22 July].

According to the Defence Ministry of Azerbaijan, Armenian troops on Thursday continued their large-scale attack which they had launched on Wednesday morning. At present, according to the Defence Ministry, Azerbaijani Army units and local self-defence forces are repulsing Armenian attacks on the outskirts of Agdam, the western suburbs of which are under the control of Armenian troops.

Agdam is being incessantly shelled by artillery and missiles. Forty people were killed and more than 100 civilians wounded, Gasym Kerimov, head of the local body of executive power, told ITAR-TASS by telephone. "Disastrous damage has been inflicted upon the city. If bombardment continues for a while, Agdam will be in ruins,", he said.

The Azerbaijan Defence Minsitry reported that Armenian troops, supported by armoured vehicles, since six A.M. on Thursday have been trying to assume the offensive to the north of Agdam from the direction of the earlier occupied Chullu village but Azerbaijani troops are still holding out.

According to the same source, Armenian troops last night launched an attack in northern Karabakh where they took high ground in their advance towards the district centre of Terter. In southern Karabakh, the Armenian side fired on villages in Fizuli and Djebrail Districts.

At the same time, according to the ARMENPRESS news agency, the suburbs of Stepanakert were rocketed and shelled by artillery from the direction of Agdam on Thursday morning. Azerbaijani attack planes again appeared in the skies over Stepanakert. They dropped several cluster bombs on the outskirts of the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. Air defence gunners returned the fire and the aircraft failed to bomb the centre of the city. A considerable damage was inflicted. Information about casualties is being specified.

The Karabakh Defence Army headquarters categorically denied information by the Azerbaijani Defence Ministry that Karabakh forces allegedly took the southern suburbs of Agdam. According to the headquarters, "the Azerbaijani side since early morning on July 21 has been making continuous attempts to attack practically along the entire eastern boundary between Agdam and Askeran Districts".

Nagorno-Karabakh Defence Army units managed with difficulty to beat off the onslaught of the enemy supported by air raids, artillery, armoured vehicles, and surface-to-surface missiles. There is loss of life on both sides.

An aircraft and a helicopter of the Azerbaijani Air Force were shot down by Nagorno-Karabakh air defence gunners at the boundary of Agdam and Askeran Districts on Thursday night, a spokesman in the Nagorno-Karabakh Department of Information and the Press told ITAR-TASS by telephone.

Elchibey Issues Appeal on 'Military Coup'

NC2207131593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1140 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, 22.07.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Azerbaijan democracy is in a great danger President A. Elchibey appeal says to CSCE Vienna group participants. New leadership of the Republic violates roughly democratic principles human rights restricts mass freedom the president reckons. [sentence as received] As legally elected president of Azerbaijan I call for CSCE members states to express their attitude to military coup in Azerbaijan not to let violation of CSCE principles and international laws and to send a representative to Azerbaijan to make acquaintance with the situation the appeal says.

Justice Ministry Views Prisoner 'Rebellion'

NC2307064093 Baku TURAN in English 1301 GMT 22 Jul 93

["Patriotic Feelings Have Again Arisen With Prisoners"—TURAN headline]

[Text] Baku July 22 (TURAN)—More than 1,200 prisoners of the first and seventh corrective labour colonies, located in the outskirts of Baku, excited rebellion, putting in claims of 16 points. Unsatisfactory social-living conditions, situation in the field of human rights are among the main claims. They also demanded that they should be sent to fight in Karabakh.

"Rebels", absolutely controlling the territory of camps, demanded that administration meet with Prime-Minister Surat Guseynov and standing representative of UN in Azerbaijan Mahmud al-Sa'id.

Yesterday after the meeting with the First Vice-Premier Vakhid Akhmedov, being satisfied with the talk, prisoners of the first colony had left the jails and returned on their places.

Along with this, the authorities are not intended to satisfy "patriotic gusts" of the prisoners. Last summer during the same mutiny, prisoners demanded they be sent to the front. Request of more than 70 people had been complied. Later a great deal of them fled the Army, and a part of them united in criminal groups, giving lots of troubles to "liberators".

As the representative of Ministry of Justice declared, the fact that many of them were put into prison when Azerbaijan had already been in termination of war, casted doubt on sincerity.

At the same time Minister of Justice Ilyas Ismailov has send to Milli Majlis the resolutions on liberating the persons, who became invalids in the cause of battle actions, on identifying them to the category of "participant of the war", and on half increasing the term of punishment to the participants of the war.

Opposition Representatives Hold News Conference

LD2307084093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] ANI reports that a news conference by representatives of the present opposition has taken place in Baku. Azerbaijan's former Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov and Leyla Yunusova, former head of the press center of the republic's Defense Ministry, took part in it. They condemned the arrests of former government and parliament members, and in particular that of Isa Kamberov. According to Leyla Yunusova, the arrest of Isa Kamberov, former speaker of the National Assembly, was illegal since he has not been stripped of his deputy's authorities. As regards Isa Kamberov, the National Assembly only gave permission for investigations to begin, she said.

For his part, Tofik Gasymov expressed concern that as a result of the present arrests Azerbaijan could be excluded from the CSCE. At the same time he admitted that under the former government there had been illegal arrests and human rights had been violated in Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Parliament Factions Demand Cabinet Resign

LD2207174293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] At today's meeting of the parliament, a statement by some members of parliament was read. The statement says:

For months, Georgia has been involved in a deep crisis; chaos and impunity reign in the country. An ordinary citizen appears to be completely undefended both socially and physically.

The helplessness and powerlessness of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers has become evident. Industry has stopped, the economic reform is not proceeding, law enforcement has failed, and the fighting efficiency of servicemen struggling for the territorial integrity of Georgia has not actually been accomplished. Corruption is not being fought against, though its scale increases and creates a real threat to the existence of the state and the nation.

Members of the Georgian Parliament have repeatedly expressed impartial complaints against the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers emphasizing facts of incompetence and lack of organization. The existing deficiencies have been pointed at and their elimination was demanded. Unfortunately, nothing has been done in effect.

Due to all this, we, the members of the Georgian Parliament having realized our responsibility before our electorate and country declare nonconfidence in the Cabinet of Ministers of Georgia, to its leadership and demand that they resign. At the same time, we note that several members of the cabinet deserve trust and we regard it possible to retain them in a renewed staff of the cabinet.

The existing situation obliges us to demand that the chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state should submit a list of new members of the Cabinet of Ministers and its new structure as soon as possible.

[Signed] Members of the Georgian Parliament from the following factions: Liberals, National Democrats, Greens, Republicans, the Popular Front

Abkhaz War Costs 50 Billion Rubles Daily

LD2207141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi July 22 TASS—The war with Abkhazia costs the Georgian budget 50 million roubles daily, Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua said on Thursday.

In his address to the parliament Sigua called for the earliest possible signing of a ceasefire agreement, stressing that it will allow the republic to begin carrying out measures to overcome the social and economic crisis. Georgia also hopes for assistance from Western countries, some of which have expressed readiness to provide Georgia with credits and investments.

Shevardnadze Says Russian Policy on Abkhazia 'Clearer'

PM2207152693 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 3

[Petr Karapetyan report: "Text of Draft Agreement on Cease-Fire in Abkhaz Conflict Zone Finally Settled in Tbilisi; Now the Main Thing Is To Stop the Bloodshed and Prevent Further Casualties"]

[Text] At a meeting in Tbilisi 21 July between Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, and Boris Pastukhov, personal representative of the Russian president and Russian deputy foreign minister, the text of a draft agreement on a cease-fire in Abkhazia was finally agreed on. It was proposed that the text of the draft agreement be examined at a joint session of the Defense Council and Council of Ministers of Abkhazia 22 July.

Interviewed by a Georgian News Agency correspondent, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that "work on the draft was very complex and tense." The main thing for us, he stressed, is to bring about an end to the bloodshed and prevent further casualties. In his traditional broadcast on Georgian radio, Shevardnadze said that "Russian policy has become clearer. There are obvious symptoms indicating that Russia has made a choice. This can be sensed not only in government circles, but also among some Russian Supreme Soviet deputies. Politicians are beginning to realize that Russia needs a stable Georgia and that equal, good-neighborly relations suit both sides."

Shevardnadze also spoke about the aggressiveness of the Abkhaz side and the need to withdraw not only Abkhaz and Georgian, but also Russian troops from the conflict zone. The complete demilitarization of Abkhazia, Eduard Shevardnadze believes, will prevent the flames of war from spreading to Russian territory.

The position of Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili remains unclear. According to our information, for a long time they tried to convince him of the need to sign the draft agreement that had been drawn up. All that is known is that during work on the document Karkarashvili deemed it necessary to state: "Georgia's Armed Forces will defend Sukhumi until victory. If Russia is really committed to a peaceful settlement of the conflict, it must first define its own position."

Gudauta's reaction to the agreed document is also unknown. It can be assumed that Vladislav Ardzinba will insist, as the chief condition for a cease-fire, on the examination of the question of creating the conditions for the normal functioning of the legitimate organs of power. It is well known that the Georgian side has categorically refused to accept Ardzinba's demands for the restoration of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia and the return of the former government to Sukhumi. What will happen this time?

It is not ruled out that Gudauta will put forward new ultimatums too. Be that as it may, it will be possible to say that things are moving only if Gudauta agrees to sign the agreement on a cease-fire in Abkhazia and on the mechanism for monitoring its observance without preliminary conditions of any kind.

Abkhaz Official on Peace Prospects

MK2307101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jul 93 p 3

[Interview with Zurab Achba, member of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Presidium, by Liana Minasyan: "We Will Fight Until We Reestablish Our Legitimate Authority"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Minasyan] Is it really so that it was a draft of the country's federal structure proposed by the Abkhazian parliament that served as a pretext for bringing Georgian troops into Abkhazia? At present they say in Tbilisi that a plan for Abkhazia's state structure has been drafted that gives the country a higher status than it had formerly as an autonomous republic.

[Achba] On the day the war broke out, 14 August, a draft treaty on the fundamentals of relations between Georgia and Abkhazia and an appeal to the State Council, in which we proposed that our relations be clearly and conceptually defined by negotiations, by dividing our functions, were included in the agenda of the Abkhazian parliament's meeting. The draft was published, but no responses from Tbilisi, whether good or bad, were forthcoming. The Georgian troops entered Abkhazia probably because there was a temptation to resolve this problem by force.

[Minasyan] That war proved fleeting and bloody, while everything else was gaining momentum more gradually...

[Achba] The North Caucasus region was at once integrated into it. In that conflict various interests clashed—those of the peoples of the North Caucasus, Russia itself, and our diaspora. Abkhazia is a region that is tied culturally, ethnically, and economically with wide expanses outside its borders. The people themselves, too, felt that the Tbilisi regime intended to drive them away from this territory. I would not say now that acts of vandalism have been perpetrated by Georgians alone; many of those offended began to resort to similar acts with regard to the Georgian population. And this is the most grave legacy of war. We have already had 15 or so people shot by firing squad, but this was not a state policy on our part.

[Minasyan] What do your constant appeals to Russia, requests that Abkhazia be made part of the Federation, mean?

[Achba] Russian authorities have to be distinguished from Russia proper. Had it not been for the Dagomys agreement, if it had not received the weapons handed over by Russia, Georgia would have never unleashed the war. Under the Tashkent agreements, the transfer of weapons was conditional on their nonuse against the civilian population. We have turned to Russia because we are economically and culturally related to it—all Abkhazia's infrastructure is designed to service the Russian market. Georgia's policy both under Gamsakhurdia and now is not rational, it is self- destructive. Objectively speaking, Georgia, like us, is economically tied to the Russian region, and we could overcome the conflict while keeping this linkage. For us, an attempt to set up a border and to break away from Russia, switching to the West, where no one needs us at all, is an economic death, a coronary thrombosis. We have provided a bridge between the South and the North, which enabled our region to function properly. This is egotism, if you wish. Furthermore, we do not want to break ties with the North Caucasus—for us, the Abkhazians and the Adygs are one people.

We have tried to distance ourselves from Georgia—a state that is unable to ensure economic or public order—

and to invite Russia, to point to its interests in Abkhazia so that it will allow us either to reach agreement with Georgia or, as many of us dream, to join the Russian Federation and to lead a more or less normal existence.

[Minasyan] How do you see a political solution to the problem?

[Achba] So far, I am skeptical about this possibility, for I am not sure that Russian politicians who deal with the settlement of the conflict proceed from Russia's objective interests. Otherwise, Russia, as a subject of international law, while guaranteeing Georgia's territorial integrity, could have stopped the arbitrary rule by imposing economic sanctions and banning strategic raw material deliveries to Georgia until a cease-fire is in place, and to reestablish legitimate authorities, too, but this has not been done. There are forces in Russia that have been exploiting the conflict to weaken both Abkhazia and Georgia, and then, in the exhausted countries, those who divided would rule.

This does not mean that these calculations may bring about the desired results. Presently, the process of alienating the North Caucasus is under way, because it does not accept this policy. In Russia's current situation, in the process of creating their own state, morals are an integral part of politics. Demonstrating a different approach to the peoples that have to decide for themselves whether they are going to live together with Russia in the future or not is very perilous. The deeper the Caucasian peoples are drawn into the war, the more Russia lets the initiative slip out of its hands. The Caucasus will not allow the war to end unfairly, whereas a fair end is not wanted by Russia itself, because it strives to keep the conflict in the air when the parties still have mutual claims to make.

[Minasyan] Don't the talks under way now provide a way out of the plight for Abkhazia? Why doesn't it accept a cease-fire?

[Achba] Initially, Abkhazia could not secede from Georgia by international standards—the percentage of the Abkhazian population was at odds with our wishes. We did not take that path. A cease-fire now means that Georgian troops will stay on the territories they have conquered. We categorically oppose this plan, which means a division of Abkhazia. Until we liberate our capital, there will no cease-fire. We will fight until we reestablish our legitimate authority throughout Abkhazia, however long it may take, and we are ready for peace talks on this condition. They will not start before Georgian troops are withdrawn, peacekeeping forces are brought in, and all the volunteers have left. We categorically oppose the imposition of order by our forces, for that matter—this may give rise to acts of revenge. Russia insisted on having trilateral peacekeeping forces in South Ossetia—this is unnecessary. We, being armed, make an additional source of tension and danger. This has not been justified anywhere else, but they are trying to impose the same scenario on us. A confrontation of two armed groups is dangerous for the population; weapons have to be taken from them altogether.

We seemed to have already agreed upon everything. The unresolved issue is our demand that our legitimate government return to Sukhumi. A document signed by Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, and Ardzinba on 3 September of last year called for creating normal conditions for the functioning of the government.

[Minasyan] And how will the residents of Sukhumi accept the return of this government?

[Achba] These are our problems, our internal affair.

[Minasyan] Is this possible to achieve in a city affected by war without a pause or a truce?

[Achba] Of course it is. Although many people have tried to pass the political conflict for an ethnic one, we have not had an ethnic confrontation. People will have to live together, one way or another. Apart from looters and murderers, who will, naturally, have no place in Abkhazia, no one wants war.

If political forces proceeding from the interests of Georgia and not from their own ones emerge in Tbilisi, they will try to resolve this conflict, while ensuring territorial integrity. This is an option that can be discussed. A state is not a whim, we have not been swept by a wave of sovereignization—this is just a form of our existence. Our people will not be able to survive outside their state, what had befallen the Armenians or the Jews—we will perish, and our diaspora will be dramatically assimilated. This is why the loss of statehood would mean our destruction. Experience shows that all who have tried to determine our future—Russia, Georgia—have done so to our detriment. Everybody needs our geography, but none is concerned for our "demography."

At present we are all together, we have been consolidated by danger. There had been deputies in the parliament who had not raised the issue of Abkhazia's sovereignty, but now these differences are insignificant. I recall a dialogue with the Georgian side. They reproached us for creating Ardzinba's "cult of personality." I answered that it was you who created this cult by invading Abkhazia, and the people rallied behind their leader. It was you who made a cult person out of him. He was not a cult person in parliament (maybe he wished to, but could not). We have different visions of various problems, even the problems concerning relations between Georgia and Abkhazia, but at present we are on the same side of the barricades, only because we are fighting. If we return to a normal life tomorrow, each of us will defend the civil values he cherished formerly.

Georgian, Russian Patriarchs Appeal for Peace

AU2207161893 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 15 Jul 93 p 3

["Appeal to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian

Parliament and head of state, and the Parliaments, Governments, and Peoples of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia" from Ilya II, catholicos-patriarch of all Georgia, and Aleksiy II, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia; place and date not given]

[Text] Your Excellencies, Respected Members of Parliament and Government, Dear Sisters and Brothers—Inhabitants of Russia and Georgia,

We, the representatives of two of the oldest Orthodox churches that continue the centuries-old spiritual traditions of the Georgian and Russian peoples, who are conscious of our responsibility for the present and future of these peoples, their spiritual and moral make-up, appeal to you to stop the break-up of fraternal relations between our peoples and states and to do everything to impart a new impetus to these relations precisely at this dangerous time when our peoples are learning to build their own lives in conditions of freedom.

Over the centuries, the peoples of Russia and Georgia, strengthened by the unity of their Orthodox faith and linked by life-giving ties, proceeded side by side along the path of history. This path was not always easy. Today, too, it is difficult and thorny.

During the last few years, politically short-sighted forces have been trying to foment strife between our peoples and sow national irreconcilability. These forces have been speculating on the difficulties of the recent past and have been aiming to place the full responsibility of the political system on the people. We have painfully to acknowledge that these politicians, to our shame, have been achieving and are achieving today their wish: They are provocatively causing hostile relations between the representatives of our peoples, particularly in their common birthplaces.

It is with a feeling of indignation that we condemn all attempts to place the blame for this torture and suffering on our peoples. We are unable to remain indifferent at a time when the centuries-old brotherhood between our peoples is being severed, when they have historically received spiritual sustenance from a single holy Orthodox church, for politicians and political systems come and go but the peoples will remain and will live together.

In this respect, we are particularly alarmed by the current news and events in Abkhazia. Bloodshed leads to an escalation of hatred and gives rise to a thirst for revenge. If the fratricidal war does not end immediately, chaos will prevail for a long time on the holy Caucasian soil and will bring death and destruction to the peoples inhabiting this land.

There can be only one way out of the tragic situation that has taken shape: An immediate halt to the bloodshed, the demilitarization of the conflict zone, and the creation of firm guarantees of peace, which will form the basis for the legal resolution of the problems that have arisen between the sides involved in the conflict. We believe that Russia's peaceful forces, with the support and agreement of the world community, are capable of establishing peace in Abkhazia in the transitional period. In spite of the many contentious issues, we firmly believe that the Georgian and Abkhazian peoples should arrive at their resolution by peaceful means, taking into account the legal aspirations and interests of both peoples.

We are convinced that it is impossible to overcome the present crisis without establishing relations of accord and neighborliness in those places where Georgians, Abkhazians, Russians, and the representatives of other nationalities have always lived together. We believe that benevolent cooperation between peoples sharing the same faith, Christians and Muslims, and also people holding different outlooks and beliefs should become the most important means for achieving reconciliation.

We call upon the leaders of our states, our members of parliament, and our Governments to display wisdom and perspicacity so that we can preserve and further strengthen the historical unity between our peoples. Friendly relations between our two states are needed equally by both Georgia and Russia. We believe that a cease-fire and the resolution of the conflict in Abkhazia will accelerate the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Russia and Georgia. We are convinced that, with God's help, good will triumph over evil and wisdom and justice will emerge victorious.

May the saints of Russia and Georgia always bless our peoples and states and may the mercy of God be with them forever.

[Signed] Ilya II, catholicos-patriarch of all Georgia
Aleksiy II, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia

Estonia

Reaction to Referenda in Narva, Sillamae Continues

Royalist Party Disputes Narva Results

WS2107111093 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0707 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Wednesday, July 21—The Royalist Party herald service announced that their observers counted the voters in Narva and came to the conclusion that over ten thousand voters must have entered the polling stations via chimney. "Only 18,320 persons (possible mistake not in excess of five percent) were seen entering the polling stations," the royalists claimed. But they did not count the voters in two mobile polling stations and participants in the preliminary voting.

Embassy Says 'No Legal Results'

WS2107111993 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0707 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From 21 July RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT, p 1,3]

[Text] Wednesday, July 21—The Estonian Embassy in Moscow distributed a press release on Monday [19 July], stressing that the plebiscite conducted in Narva and Sillamae was illegal and could have no legal results.

The Estonian constitution does not include the term "national-territorial autonomy" and it remains unclear, what nation is meant by that, the statement read. The Embassy statement further pointed out that there is no such nation as the "Russian-speakers".

The statement also referred to the participation of Russian residents in the voting and irregularities in the procedure. "Results of an anti-constitutional plebiscite cannot serve as a basis for an amendment of Estonian laws," the statement read. The document further stressed that "the activities of the organisers of the plebiscite was directed at hindering the elections of local authorities in Narva so as to prolong their mandate since their inefficient social and economic policy deprives them of chances of success."

Narva town council chairman Vladimir Chuikin sent a letter to the Justice Chancellor Erik-Juhan Truuvali, explaining the resolution of the town council. The council claimed that their resolution on the plebiscite did not contradict the constitution since they did not intend to violate Estonia's territorial integrity. Chancellor Truuvali submitted an application to the State Court to invalidate the town council resolution on the plebiscite.

Deputy head of the Russian Foreign Ministry information service Boris Kustovski claimed that the Estonian authorities should "react positively" to the results of the referendum in Narva and Sillamae. He expressed hope that a dialogue with the "Russian-speaking population" will be started.

Government Discusses Narva, Other Issues

WS2107111793 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0707 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From 21 July RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, p 1,3]

[Text] Wednesday, July 21—The government discussed the plebiscite in Narva and other problems concerning the town. Prime Minister Mart Laar repeated his ideas of the July 18 statement at the news conference after the session but also added that the Estonian presence in Narva must become more obvious. Laar added that the ties of several ministries with Narva have been weak and stressed the government's intent to lead a more constructive policy. The main political aim will be to conduct the elections with the help of local constructive forces (the town government, the directors' council and the league of the unemployed). Laar pointed out that international capital and experts have been involved in the restoring of normal activities of the "Kreenholm" textile plant. Estonia's share of a 200 million kroon export crediting project is 40 million.

The government approved the statutes of the Defence Police and the order of the use of surveillance equipment. Draft laws on the use of surveillance equipment and the protection of national secrets are to be submitted to the Riigikogu. The government intends to annul the decree limiting citizens' access to Paldiski. Four Russian officers, connected with the withdrawal of the Russian Army division stationed at Tondi, were granted entry permits to Estonia.

Two decrees connected with real property were passed. One of them concerns the order of turning land into municipal ownership and another quitclaim to land.

The government approved a decree on temporary warehouses and bonded warehouses for import-export firms.

The magazine AJA PULSS is to be liquidated within two months, Erkki Aavik of the State Chancellery was appointed to head the liquidation commission.

The government granted 50,000 kroons to the Tallinn technical University for the celebration of its 75th anniversary, 199,000 kroons to the State Court to cover compensation and holiday allowance for the staff and 7,000 kroons to the Girl Guides organisation for participation in the world conference. But the government refused to allocate 3.3 million kroons for Estonian Radio foreign language broadcasts. Laar claimed that the issue needed more consideration.

Government Declares Narva Referendum Invalid

LD2107180693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, July 21 (TASS)—The Estonian Government has said that the results of the referendum that was held in Narva on July 16-17 should be considered invalid.

"Less than 50 per cent of residents of Narva took part in the so-called referendum, including citizens of the Russian Federation," a statement issued by the government said.

The Estonian authorities have declared the results of the referendum on Narva's autonomy unconstitutional. The statement pointed out to "falsifications and abuses during the referendum".

Speaking about the situation in the city situated on the border with Russia, the government said that the city council's "political propaganda and build-up of tension has put Narva on the brink of social and economic catastrophe". The government has promised to do everything possible to help the city and is ready for cooperation with the city executive council and other constructive forces.

The government has expressed the hope that Narva residents will maintain order and stability in the city and said it will act as a guarantor of peaceful elections to local bodies of power both in Narva and in Estonia as a whole on October 17, 1993.

Tallinn, Tartu Leaders Praise Non-Voters

WS2207100693 Tallinn BNS in English 1623 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Tallinn, July 21, BNS—Leaders of the Tallinn and Tartu city councils, Sulev Maeltsemees and Aino-Eevi Lukas, expressed their appreciation of the Narva residents who did not participate in the referendum last week.

"We find it curious how the Narva and Sillamae city councils understand the relation between autonomy and the state's integrity," says the joint statement released Wednesday [21 July] by the leaders of Estonia's two largest cities.

The question in the referendum explicitly speaks about Narva's "national-territorial autonomy," said the statement. It remains incomprehensible what the Narva City Council has in mind in its explanation that the question "did not aim at breaking Estonia's territorial integrity," said the statement.

"The Narva and Sillamae leaders call for holding the next local elections on the basis of the previous election law, the Estonian SSR law on elections to local councils of people's deputies," the statement continues.

"Let us remind them that nearly four years ago they and their followers did not like this law at all," the city council leaders wrote. "A leaflet distributed in Tallinn in December 1989 advised people not to go to the polls under this law, because 'we cannot take the same road as cheats and criminals.'"

Maeltsemees and Lukas note that the more unstable the situation in the country, the more difficult it is to achieve economic progress and a rise in the living standards.

"We hope the people will realize where the representing their interests ends and the realization of personal political ambitions starts," they say.

Government Says Referendum 'Failed'

WS2207115893 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0710 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From 22 July RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Thursday, July 22—The Estonian government made a statement on the so-called referendum conducted in Narva on July 16 and 17. After hearing the report on the results and the irregularities observed during the voting, the government states that the so-called referendum failed in Narva. Less than fifty percent of the town inhabitants took part in it, including Russian citizens living in Narva. The government commends the self-control and democratic positions of the majority of the people of Narva.

The statement further points out that the council, concentrated on political propaganda and escalation of tension, has brought the town to the brink of catastrophe as compared to the rest of the country. The government will do its best to improve the situation, to attract foreign investments, to combat crime in Narva and to increase the presence of ministries there.

Heads of the Tallinn and Tartu city councils Sulev Maeltsemees and Aino-Eevi Luukas commended the Narovians who refrained from participating in the voting. They also pointed out that the town council leaders called for the local elections according to the pre-independence law on elections, although the very same persons used to attack the law four years ago.

Most of the Swedish newspapers consider the "referendum" in Narva a failure, the BNS reports. The Swedish journalists stress that only half of the inhabitants took part and even that number has been questioned. Lack of lists of the voters' names is described as another drawback. The Swedish papers also pointed out that the general problems in northeastern Estonia could be solved by means of dialogue only.

Sillamae Town Council Confirms Results

WS2207120193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0710 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From 22 July RAHVA HAAL, p 3]

[Text] Thursday, July 22—Sillamae town council session approved the official referendum results and appealed to the Estonian government to grant special status to the town. According to the council, the Estonian constitution provides for forming new types of administrative units in Estonia without threatening the integrity of the state. 61 percent of the townspeople took part in the referendum and 98.63 percent supported the idea of "national- territorial autonomy."

The council also approved an appeal to the CE [Council of Europe], the CSCE, Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus, stressing that the town council recognizes Estonia's territorial integrity and attempts to solve the problems in a peaceful way. Granting special status to Sillamae, amending the six laws objected to, and keeping the promises made by Prime Minister Mart Laar to the CSCE High Commissioner would contribute to "reinforcing peace and unity in Estonia," the council claimed.

Narva Town Soviet Endorses Results

LD2207140493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] A session of the Narva town soviet today endorsed the results of the referendum on the issue of this predominantly Russian-speaking town in the north east of Estonia, having the status of a national-territorial autonomy. Over 97 percent of those who took part in the referendum voted for autonomy.

Repatriation Treaty With Russia Initialed

WS2107111293 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0707 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From 21 July PAEVALEHT, p 3]

[Text] Wednesday, July 21—Re-emigration agreement between Estonia and Russia was initialled and the Russian representative, Director General of the Russian Migration Service Tatyana Regent had been authorized to sign it, head of the Estonian Immigration Department Andres Kollist announced. "The re-emigration agreement determines the status of the emigrants and describes the obligations of both parties," Kollist explained. He added that the Estonian side will pay compensation for the sold apartment and grant support from the migration fund. The Russian side is to provide work, land etc., "but its support so far seems to be moral rather than material," Kollist claimed. He added that the migration fund had been allocated 10 million kroons, one third of which had been used.

Kollist also commented the negotiations held in Lohusalu concerning the humanitarian issues. He quoted the head of the Russian work group Aleksandrov, who had claimed that Russia lost its independence with the joining of the Soviet Union in 1922 and cannot be responsible for the crimes committed by the USSR. Estonia had presented a draft agreement on compensating the damages caused to Estonian citizens by the Soviet repressions. Aleksandrov had claimed that Russia had "nothing to do" with the repressions, Kollist said. According to Aleksandrov, Russia is the legal successor of the Czarist Russia, while the legal succession to the USSR had been valid at a certain period only.

Defense Leaders Prepare for Opening of Paldiski

LD2207230293 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Report on interview with Colonel Ants Laaneots, chief of the General Staff of the defense forces, by correspondent Urmas Loit, including recorded remarks by Interior Minister Lagle Parek and General Aleksandr Einseln, head of the defense forces]

[Text] Leaders of the defense forces visited Paldiski in order to prepare the opening of the town for Estonia. Urmas Loit reports.

[Loit] Interior Minister Lagle Parek, General Aleksandr Einseln, head of the defense forces, and Colonel Ants Laaneots, chief of the general staff of the defense forces, acquainted themselves, first of all, with the facilities of the Russian troops at Paldiski.

Strange or not, they went to the Russian garrison before going to the Estonian garrison.

At Paldiski, as formerly, the majority of life is under the care of the Russian troops. There is a Russian militia that looks after the register of motor vehicles and inhabitants and there is Russian Navy housing for 10,000 people.

The government has not taken over much, not the harbors nor the military townlets, although the Russians have wanted to rid themselves of the responsibility for a long time.

The local town government which, according to its name, is the same as formerly, the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies, has not much say at all in organizing local life. The town even has no administrative status.

Today's visit to Paldiski by the Estonian powers, however, announces several changes to the life of the town. Interior Minister Lagle Parek:

[Parek] One of the purposes of our visit today was also to open the town of Paldiski. To remove the guard posts on entry, so that the fence would come down, and that, by taking over, all the Estonian powers, institutions that should, would be there, ending the activity of the Russian militia and handing over everything to the Estonian police, taking over the operations office, the passport office, and to introduce the citizenship department's office there.

But at present, unfortunately, it must be asserted that we are not, after all, allowed to open the town fully. We are

removing the guard, but international advice in connection with nuclear reactors demands that four kilometers around a nuclear reactor be under control. With that, the guard posts will be somewhere, and entry will be allowed only with permits.

[Loit] But when will the military townlets and harbors, which at present really have no master, be taken over from the Russian troops? Col. Ants Laaneots:

[Laaneots] At present they are ready to hand over to us the upper military townlet, that is actually being taken over now by a Defense Ministry commission. Apart from that, they are ready to hand over to us both harbors. They only request permission at the former submarine harbor, when necessary to them, when they would like to move out from there, that equipment which they are dismantling there at the training center. Let them, only then and in the event when it is necessary. I think no problem will arise there. Apart from that, they agree, they wanted to hand over to us two hostels in the town today. These too, will be taken over immediately for the purpose of housing part of the light infantrymen. One has already been taken over by the border guard.

[Loit] When is it hoped that the Russian troops will finally leave Paldiski?

[Laaneots] Everything depends, after all, how quickly they will dismantle that nuclear center of theirs. There is an immense amount of work, as you yourself noticed.

This, too, is in two stages. The first stage is, let us say, putting the active zone of the nuclear reactors in order, that they promise accomplishing by next summer. On top of that, there is a second stage, when, for instance, the Estonian state would not agree that they leave the entire equipment building and facilities there after they clear their reactors away, that we ourselves would deal with that. Then they would make an additional plan for the second stage, how to, in a word, leave (?a green field). Insofar as I would predict, they are very much for clearing up the active zone, leaving everything else round our neck, from our (?standpoint) of course undesirable.

[Loit] General Einseln considers it necessary to make use, for dismantling of the nuclear reactors, of the assistance of international experts, although Russia does not especially want this.

[Einseln] I believe that this matter is too important to be simply left between two states. This is important on a world scale. Should anything occur there, this would not only endanger Estonia, but also neighboring countries.

[Loit] In future Paldiski may offer interest for locating Estonian defense forces. There could be, for example, a base for naval forces. In the opinion of General Einseln all the military establishments should not be allowed to be in Tallinn.

Latvia

Saeima Approves New Cabinet of Ministers

WS2107113693 Riga LETA in English 1018 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Riga, July 21 (LETA)—The Saeima or parliament of Latvia on Tuesday [20 July] accepted candidatures of the new ministers cabinet, proposed by Valdis Birkavs. 48 deputies of parliament voted for, 11—against the proposed cabinet members, with 32 deputies abstaining.

The Tuesday's vote approved the composition of the ministers cabinet, proposed by Valdis Birkavs, a deputy of the "Latvian Way" faction, who had been charged by the president with forming the new government. The following are members of the new cabinet: the Ministers President or the Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs, (51 years of age), Maris Gailis (42), Minister of the State Reforms and an aide of the Ministers President, Ojars Kehris (35), Minister of Economy and an aide of the Ministers President, Egils Levits (38), Minister of Justice and an aide of the Ministers President, Minister of Finance Uldis Osis (45), Minister of Foreign Affairs Georgs Andrejevs (61), Minister of Education, Culture and Science Janis Vaivads (47), Minister of Agriculture Janis Kinna (41), Minister of Internal Affairs Girts Kristovskis (31), Minister of Welfare Janis Ritenis (68), Minister of Communication Andris Gutmanis (51), Minister of Defence Valdis Pavlovskis (59), Minister of Environment and Regional Development Girts Lukins (29), and Minister on Special Assignments Edvins Inkens (35).

On the suggestion by Valdis Birkavs the following state ministers were also admitted to the cabinet: Minister on Energetics with the Economic Ministry Andris Kreslins (55), Minister on the State Property with the Finance Ministry Edmunds Krastins (35), Minister on Budget with the Finance Ministry Janis Platais (34), Minister on Inland Trade and Issues on the European Council with the Foreign Ministry Olgerts Pavlovskis (59), Minister on the Baltic States and the Nordic Countries with the Foreign Ministry Gunars Meierovics (73), Minister on Culture with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science Raimonds Pauls (57), Minister on Forestry with the Agriculture Ministry Kazimirs Slakoa (46), Minister on Employment with the Welfare Ministry Andris of Environment and Regional Development Indulis Emsis (41).

Shortly before debate and voting a thorough conceptual report "declaration on outlines for the cabinet performances" was made by the appointed Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs, which was followed by heated debate on the issue, in which parliamentarians of all the factions represented in the Saeima, took part. The faction of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia and that of "Harmony for Latvia.." announced that they had objections concerning some points in the declaration and some of the candidates proposed for posts of ministers, therefore they had decided to abstain in the vote.

The Saeima also decided that the first meeting of the new cabinet was due to convene on August 3, 1993.

Birkavs Speaks at National Assembly Session

LD2107114093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0912 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Address by Prime Minister designate Valdis Birkavs at the 20 July National Assembly session in Riga—live]

[Excerpts] Highly esteemed state President. Highly esteemeed ladies and gentlemen of the Saeima. Latvia is waiting. It is waiting for a government capable of energetic reform and of understanding the worries of the nation. Latvia is waiting for active, constructive, and responsible action from its Saeima. It is time that the words we saw written on the placards before the election to be transformed into actions. It is time to show today that words correspond to actions. Will Latvia have a reform coalition setting to work, or will it be dominated by anti-reform forces? Latvia is waiting, waiting for action.

The coalition government of the Latvian Peasants' Union and the Latvian Way put forward a concrete program of action, and allow me to announce that the first steps in the reforms intended for the cabinet in this program concern the structure and composition of the cabinet. The Latvian state is confronted by significant reforms. Included in this task is the coalition agreement between the Peasants' Union and the Latvian Way. Included in this task is the construction of the Cabinet of Ministers, the ministries and the institutions subject to them, and the composition of their leading personnel. In the interests of the Latvian state, the coalition of the Peasants' Union and the Latvian Way is (?again commencing) reforms of the economy, the state administration, and the judiciary. In the course of economic reforms, the following strategies will be realized: transfer to an economic system corresponding to market principles and the free market by developing and promoting the private initiative of citizens and entreprenurial activity; and integration into the European economic space, as a result of which there must be an official entry into the European Community. However, we acknowledge only such involvement in Europe that will not destroy Latvia's identity but will allow its full development. We support only such housekeeping that is dominated not by division and subdivision but by production. Arising from this strategy are also the most important tasks in the privatization of state property, structural policy, money, financial and foreign trade policy, and the creation of mechanisms for their implementation. The privatization of state property is not an end in itself, but a means to the most rapid further development of economic reform, involving people's private initiative and enterprise.

By 1996, at least 75 percent of state enterprises must be privatized. At present a large proportion of state enterprises has reached the point of bankruptcy, so, for privatization, it is important to quickly, as fast as possible, accelerate small privatization, ensure the rapid creation of small and medium networks of enterprises in Latvia, and stimulate competition. On the other hand, we must not (?hasten) the privatization of the large state enterprises; this must happen gradually, creating objects out of them for their effective functioning [words indistinct]. To observe the (?distribution) of property, to achieve the rational administration of property, to ensure the openness and speed of privatization, the following measures are necessary:

For the implementation of privatization, a publicly controlled institution, a privatization agency, must be created. The arrangement of privatization through the relevant ministries is not acceptable because it excludes the possibility of implementing a unified policy. So as not to allow the theft of state property, its appropriation and irrational use, a state property fund must be created without delay, whose main task would be to conduct a unified inventory and administration of state property. Enterprises that for various reasons cannot be privatized must be assessed with the help of consultancy firms from a practical point of view. Those with prospects must be run properly and those without prospects must have their function curtailed and their equipment sold off, with some of the proceeds being used for the retraining of those left without work and the payment of unemployment benefits. Regarding structural policy, we see certain priorities and methods of implementing them. We put forward these priorities: The promotion of industries involving science and technology, the development of Latvian farming, the development of energy, and the development of communications, transport, [word indistinct], finance, and the market.

The implementation of structural policy must take place in three phases, being implemented both (?successively) and in parallel. In the initial phase of implementing structural policy, Latvia can and must play the role of international mediator. Of major significance in this respect will be the development of commercial transport, telecommunications, as well as the exchange and banking systems. In industry, agriculture, and other productive branches of the national economy, this phase could be described as a preparatory phase for radical restructuring. This will mainly involve the rehabilitation and privatization of large commercial enterprises. In addition, the rehabilitation of the Latvian system of large enterprises must be linked to the restructuring of the banks, and the (?phased repayment) of their credits. Also envisaged is an opportunity for the banks to propose the exchange of credits granted to state enterprises for a partial purchase of shares in these enterprises

In the second phase, the partial reorientation of Latvia's traditional branches of the economy to the markets of western, central, and northern European countries must take place. it is a priority for Latvia to have (?qualified workers) in those branches that are not too intensive in energy and materials. The textile industry, [word indistinct] separately the radio electronics (?production), such

(?opportunities) for reorientation based on the fact that at present, these are our products that are able to compete in Eastern countries and those of median economic development. (?But if) these countries can partially reorient themselves, Latvia too will maximize (?these branches of activity). In the second phase, the rationalization of economic links and [word indistinct] must occur. There must be (?an opportunity) for enterprises in free conditions to independently (?shape themselves) according to favorable economic (?conditions). [passage omitted]

The major part of Latvian machine-building enterprises is at least one generation behind Western designs. Therefore, it is not able to withstand the competition on the world market. Production should be restructured, and the enterprises themselves should be divided and decentralized according to the products they produce or other criteria. Such restructuring will also make it more attractive for investors.

The glass-making industry in its present form and technological basis has little opportunity to survive. The automated casting lines that make low-quality products and are very demanding in terms of energy should be closed. However, the number of items made by glass blowing should be increased.

Latvian microelectronics is in the forefront of technology. At the same time, many electronic products are still intended for the defense industry. Many of such enterprises continue to work in an economic system somewhat resembling that of the former USSR, and they do not consider themselves a part of the Latvian industry. In such cases, new business plans—including conversion programs—should be prepared, and it is necessary for them to begin to make civilian products.

The situation is unique in the chemical industry, because Latvian research institutes have secured the foundation for progress in biotechnology. Research done by the institutes of local enterprises has made it possible to produce basic medicines of various types. [passage omitted]

Stable prospects are envisaged for the development of the wood processing and paper industries, especially taking into account local resources. The development of packaging production is also considered to be promising. Forestry should not be forgotten. Everything that has been achieved over previous years should be preserved and developed.

A special program is envisaged for the stimulation of small and medium enterprises. The program is to be financed by the European Commission the main goal of which is to establish three centers in Latvia for the support of entrepreneurial activity, at which all who wish to set up their own enterprises will be trained, consulted, and will receive necessary information. (?At the moment) a center is being opened in Riga, and two other centers will be opened locally. The locations will be decided, and it will depend on the activity of local governments to a great extent.

The coalition will devote special attention to small- and medium-sized enterprises. Several concerns that are competitive internationally must be formed. Certain industrial groups are to be formed, essentially confirming their possible technological and manufacturing (?capacities). Vertical integration is to be developed all over the Baltic region, which is to be regarded as a unified industrial region. It is necessary, therefore, to unify the Baltic industrial development programs. Manufacturing that is intensive in energy and materials must gradually be transferred to other territories, closer to the sources of the relevant raw materials, in order to preserve the integrity of these manufacturing concerns, irrespective of their territorial location.

The state must play a leading role in industrial polytechnic policy until the completion of the privatization of enterprises. This must be done (?not sticking to) administrative methods, but with financial instruments, as well as by implementing the relevant foreign policy.

There is no doubt that the coalition of the Latvian Peasants' Union and the Latvian Way is of special significance for the development of farming. The agreement reached is the basis of the coalition. The strategic goal for the development of Latvian agriculture is self-sufficiency for Latvia in the chief agricultural products.

Self-sufficiency implies: the inhabitants' supply of food products; the supply of industry with agricultural raw materials; the creation of state reserves; the protection of incomes for agricultural producers; the territorial [word indistinct] of the farming complex; ensuring a standard of living for the inhabitants that will allow the preservation or restoration of the life and cultural characteristic of the countryside; employment; an increase in productivity and the maximum use of manufacturing resources with the aim of becoming competitive on both the internal and external markets; exports, the defense of the internal market, and foreign production that the export market [words indistinct] sale prices are lower than world market prices, so as not to allow unequal competition with Latvia's agriculture; the state regulation of production in agriculture, so as to avoid overproduction compared with the internal market and export opportunities.

It is necessary to change the current pricing policy in agriculture, allowing in a transition period, a crisis period, a purposeful differentiation—but not excessive—for the (?structuring) of agricultural production, based on the prospects for the program of processing and sale of agricultural produce. However, so as not to promote ineffective production. (?structuring) is permissible only with the purpose of supporting output of produce and its pricing at world market rates. [passage omitted]

The Latvian Way and the Peasants' Union have agreed on the following urgent measures to solve the problem of

the long-term debt: We will continue the privatization of processing enterprises, giving away or selling off processing enterprises to agricultural produce cooperatives, making the enterprises [word indistinct]. We will form agricultural produce cooperative export companies, thus implementing economic and foreign policy by promoting the reception of exports in the European Community, in all the countries of the world, as well as stimulating exports to the countries of the CIS. [passage omitted]

Foreign trade and export policy. Here, it is not sufficient to declare that Latvia must develop its harbors, transport system, wholesale network [word indistinct] (?determine) the economic and legal conditions, namely: the stimulation of investment in harbor transport and warehouse management; a favorable transit, re-export, and consignment system; in the legal [word indistinct] of exports, it is important to adopt normative documents and laws corresponding to international requirements, as well as correcting those already adopted to correspond to international requirements; to regulate by law the removal of capital from Latvia (?and apply it) to nonferrous metals; to give government guarantees to foreign investment in the private sector to ensure foreign capital; and we must create opportunities to invest in real estate for those foreign companies that make big investments in prioritized areas. [passage omitted]

To solve the current problem of enterprises' debts, a special debt bank must be created, which will make the enterprises' debts [word indistinct] debt on the market, thus [word indistinct] to improve the financial condition of the enterprise. Special attention must be devoted to the creation of agricultural finance companies, using the long-term credits of the World Bank to ensure that the agricultural economy of Latvia [word indistinct] food processing enterprises for credits at acceptable rates. Regarding the reform of the social security system [word indistinct], the government will support the creation of pension funds, which will provide not only the payment of pensions to pensioners but will also be a source of credit and investment to economic [word indistinct].

Creating a stock exchange [words indistinct] because we must create opportunities for all the inhabitants of Latvia to become holders of securities, that is owners of capital, (?not owning) concrete items of property. The implementation of economic policy must not worsen the ecological situation, and therefore, we believe that the right to live in an ecologically balanced environment of high quality must be promoted, and we will do everything possible to promote green thinking and action to improve the ecological situation.

The reform of state administration. The reform of state administration embraces a system of (?finding), training, and certifying officials and the territorial division of the local government system. The reform of state administration, which has begun, provides...[pauses] and this has in fact been embarked upon, placed in law, to reduce the number of ministries, gradually and fully separating administrative and departmental functions from them, leaving under the ministries' jurisdiction only the preparation of analysis, strategy, and policy, as well as the work of preparing legislation. [passage ommitted]

The dangerously small proportion of Latvians in Latvia, the unfavorable structure of ages and sexes, the small birth-rate, the large number of broken marriages and adverse families compel us to think about comprehensive and far-reaching demographic policy to secure the future for the Latvian people. Such a program has been worked out thoroughly. We believe it will be possible to implement it.

Urgent measures have to be taken to strengthen law and order for the security of the people and the state. That is one of the main tasks, the first task, for the government. Special services to fight organized crime have to be set up under the authority but not the direct control, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. An institution has to be set up that would gather and analyze information concerning the state's independence and internal security and provide it to the state leadership.

Measures have to be taken to raise the prestige of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and particularly the police, and considerably increase the size of its staff. In this connection, amendments have to be made to the law on the police, stating that only citizens can be recruited for the work. However, those who are already on the force should be allowed to stay, provided they comply with other requirements stipulated by the law. The staff of the structures of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has to be increased using people from the Home Guard and the municipal police of various towns, who have already had certain training. Considerable additional financing has to be provided for the Police Academy to train within a short time professional policemen. Citizens undergoing obligatory service should be given the opportunity to study at the Police Academy if they so wish.

The Home Guard has to be stabilized, and it should gradually be transformed into the main structure of the national armed forces, according to the example of the national guard. At the same time, police, customs, and border protection functions of the Home Guard should be reduced to the minimum, retaining functions of the auxiliary service to the police in rural districts when the police is not around or when it requires help.

Speaking about state defense, I would only like to [word indistinct] (?some) words from the government declaration of 1923. They are also significant today:

For state security and defense, the government will try to improve and ensure the provision for armed forces, and the government will pay the greatest attention to technical training of soldiers and to their education. It will be definitely national and democratic in spirit. The government will continue to set up the army on the legal basis and will ensure competent and mutual relations between offices within the defense department.

All these reforms are subordinated to the interests of the residents of Latvia, because only a correctly organized and law-governed state can become economically strong. And only an economically strong state is able to take adequate care of its citizens, of their social protection, health, education, culture, and security.

Social policy. We believe that the state social policy is an extension of the economic policy, because resources provided in the budget are dependent on the success of economic reforms. We will begin a gradual transition to setting up social security, pensions, health, unemployment and accidents' insurance funds, payments into which will be mainly made by employers, the state and employees. The amount of social benefits will depend on the subsistence level, the increase in the cost of living, material conditions of the persons concerned and their previous contribution in terms of labor. [passage omitted]

Favorable taxation conditions will be created for those businessmen and private enterprises that will be donating money to social support funds for the disabled, those who suffered in accidents, including the Chernobyl disaster, the needy, families, and the unemployed. The state will also be contributing to such funds. [passage omitted]

The health of people is in a critical situation, which threatens the further survival of the people. [passage omitted]

Our coalition is beginning to work at a difficult time for the people and the state. Although much has been done, much has been commenced and ground has been partially prepared for reforms. State property still continues to dominate in the industry, monopoly exists in many sectors of the economy, producers impose their will on consumers, and Latvia is still to a great extent dependent on the CIS. Privatization in both urban and rural areas is hasty and chaotic. Many are not sure whether the property returned to them or privatized by them really belongs to them.

The difficult situation in Latvian agriculture is connected to the fact that both newly created farms and restructured statute companies [new-style collective farms that replaced former kolkhozs] are in a critical situation. The farmer does not have a sense of security about the future. Unemployment is growing. Many cannot manage to live from one wage to another or from one pension to another. The elderly and the needy are affected most by the economic crisis. The health of the people is in a critical situation. Education, culture, and science not only have failed to become a priority, but quite the contrary, less and less money is allocated for their development. Without tackling these problems, Latvia has no future.

People cannot be sure about their lives and property. Crime and corruption have reached an unprecedented scale in Latvia. People cannot be sure about their state either, because the occupational army is still in Latvia. Unfortunately, people do not feel protected by local governments and state institutions, because the arbitrariness of bureaucrats reigns. The principle of one justice and one law for everyone does not work. To put it briefly, there is no order in the state.

We see a consistent program of reforms and a responsible political coalition, which puts together forces of the Latvian Union of Peasants, the Latvian Way, and other political organizations that are concerned about Latvia's future and that implement reforms widely involving all strata of the society, as the way out from this difficult situation.

We have strictly undertaken to explain the government's policy as much as possible and also to implement aims and goals envisaged in our program but not reflected in this declaration.

To carry out all the abovementioned reforms and tasks, we are proposing the structure of the cabinet consisting of the abovementioned officials, the list of which has been handed out to you. The list of ministers and cabinet officials does not include two state ministers in the case of which the Saeima will separately [words indistinct]. They are the state minister for privatization at the Ministry of the Economy and the state minister for health at the Ministry of Welfare.

The cabinet is ready to start work immediately. We need the approval of the Saeima and the support of the people. We shall do everything we can to get out of the crisis, to stabilize the situation in the state, and to begin to move upward. Latvia is waiting. It is waiting for action. The time is ripe, it is the time to decide and to begin action. Thank you.

Ulmanis, Russian Envoy Discuss Troop Withdrawal

WS2207125293 Tallinn BNS in English 0934 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Riga, July 22, BNS—Russian Ambassador to Riga Aleksandr Rannikh met with Latvian President Gunter Ulmanis to offer his president's message of congratulations on his election.

Ulmanis said the government was forming a new delegation for bilateral talks with Russia which "will seriously examine the experience gained by the previous delegation and try to narrow the differences that emerged during previous rounds."

The two men also discussed the situation emerging after the Russian government decided to suspend troop withdrawals from Latvia.

"The army is unhappy over the new situation because much of the hardware was pulled out and Latvia lacks a social infrastructure to help ensure the survival of the remaining troops," Rannikh said.

The two men were confident that bilateral relations would get better.

Envoy to Russia Meets U.S. Ambassador, Russian Official

WS2207145293 Riga LETA in English 1316 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, July 22 (LETA)—The Latvian Ambassador to Russia Janis Peters together with his Lithuanian and Estonian counterparts on Wednesday [21 July] met with Thomas Pickering, American Ambassador to Russia, according to press service of the Latvian Embassy in Moscow. The American Ambassador was eager to learn about the course of the Russian troops withdrawal from the Baltic states, as well as about the attitude each of the three countries has towards its Russian-speaking minority.

Latvian Ambassador to Russia Janis Peters on Wednesday also met with Sergey Zotov, head of the Russian team on intergovernmental negotiations between the two countries. Commenting on the recently adopted decision of the Russian parliament on denouncing the peace treaty of August 11, 1920, which was signed between Latvia and Russia, the Russian diplomat pointed out that peace treaties were not to be denounced. He also expressed confidence that after re-validating the constitution in Latvia a new basis was laid for progress in negotiations between the two countries.

Russian Navy Ship Detained at Riga Border Post

LD2207221493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Excerpt] On 21 July at the Riga border post at the Bolderaja naval harbor, a Russian Navy ship with a crew of 24 was detained. The ship had entered the territorial waters of the Republic of Latvia illegally.

Altogether on 21 July Latvian border guards detained at the border and sent back 73 border violators without visas and documents. [passage omitted]

World Bank Representative on Agricultural Development

WS2107143293 Riga LETA in English 1018 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Riga, July 21 (LETA)—Rendering assistance to Latvia's farmers and acceleration of the process of privatization in agriculture and in the processing industry are the World Bank's main aims of the programme of development of agriculture. The programme was coordinated during the delegation's visit to Latvia. A three-week's work of the bank's delegation in Latvia ended on Tuesday [20 July]. A fifty-million credit granted for the implementation of this project is the largest investment of capital in Latvia's agriculture at present.

Hunai Kim, head of the World Bank's delegation, told LETA's correspondent before the delegation's departure from Riga that was the first project of the World Bank in the Baltic States. She expressed hope that the project would be a success. She informed that since last September the World Bank's experts had been studying the condition of Latvia's agriculture and defined the branches of agriculture into which investment of capital would be the most expedient. These branches are the following: A private sector, forestry and training of personnel.

The World Bank's delegation had been working in Latvia for three weeks and had considered more than five hundred applications for getting credits and had defined 35 candidates for getting credits. Hunai Kim stressed that people should understand that the World Bank's aid was not a subsidy, but a loan though an extremely cheap one—13-15 percent in a year. Credits may be granted not only in the form of a long-term investment but in the form of a starting capital for setting up a small or a medium-size enterprise. However, credits may be also granted to other persons who wish.

The head of the delegation pointed out that the World Bank's agricultural project in Latvia was aimed at improvement of the quality of Latvia's agricultural products, especially, of their marketable state up to the world level, necessary for export of Latvia's agricultural produce to western countries. Hunai Kim informed that a great number of international financial and social organizations would participate in the programme.

Popular Front Seeks Memorandum on Genocide

WS2107114193 Tallinn BNS in English 0940 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Riga, July 21, BNS—The Latvian Popular Front Council appealed to the Saeima to issue a memorandum on genocide waged during the Soviet occupation of Latvia.

The Front argues that the country needs the memorandum to rebut "slanderous" statements by the previous governments.

The memorandum will remind the world community of the totalitarian regime's crimes and produce documented proof of the crimes performed from August 1939 to January 1991, reads the appeal.

The Front suggests the Saeima work out the memorandum by referring to the U.N. General Assembly resolution on the prevention of genocide crimes.

Official Approves New Environmental Information Center

WS2207101193 Tallinn BNS in English 1813 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Riga, July 21, BNS—Latvian Environmental Protection Committee Chairman Indulis Emsis visited the

almost finished environment information and analysis center in Jurmala and approved its well-equipped laboratories.

The center was established to analyze the information provided by regional environmental protection centers in Latvia.

Lithuania

Industry, Trade Minister on Agreement With Moscow

WS2107121893 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian No 132, 13 Jul 93 p 11

[Article by newspaper correspondent Vale Cepleviciute: "We Have Agreed With Moscow. But Will We Persuade Russia?"; under the "Economy" rubric]

[Text] The previous working week was crowned with an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the Industry and Trade Ministry of the Republic of Lithuania and Moscow's authorities. The agreement indicates that prices for supplied goods and services, and account conditions will be set through contacts among economic subjects, proceeding from the agreements between the Lithuanian and Russian Governments on the issues concerning the introduction of the token money and the national currency. There are plans to set up joint ventures with Moscow, to prepare joint projects, to exchange economic information, and to establish trade missions and business centers.

The agreement is followed by a list of commodities proposed for bilateral trade. The list of articles that Moscow is offering for exports contains 71 items, while the Lithuanian list has 55. Moscow's offer runs from coal, coke, metal casts, and car parts to toys and musical instruments. Lithuania's list features such goods as meat, milk, game, fabrics, welders, compressors, fuel machines, cement, and steel bath-tubs. Unfortunately, the signature by Moscow's Mayor I. Luzhkov does not mean that these goods will easily overcome Russia's 100-percent duties on the border that were imposed on 1 July.

I have asked Industry and Trade Minister Kazimieras Klimasauskas about the advantages of this agreement to our economic policy.

"This agreement is a mitigating condition in seeking the conclusion of the principal treaty. It does not determine much—this is more a matter of quotas. This agreement can help us to reduce the costs of exports and imports of goods a little. However, we should sign a free trade agreement with Russia as soon as possible, which would allow us (in comparison with the present day, when we have no agreement at all) to cut import and export duties four times. After signing such agreements, Russia will not be able to sell its goods to its customers at different prices. Thus, Russia's terms for Lithuania should be the same as for Ukraine and Belarus which have already signed free trade agreements with Moscow. In this event, our business would be in the same production situation as other former USSR enterprises. This is the only way to save the faltering Lithuanian industry.

Certainly we should sign similar agreements with Poland and Germany. Any delay is disadvantageous. However, first of all, we must resolve the issue of economic relations with Russia. By the way, we have known for a long time that Russia will introduce such duties on 1 July....

When can the agreement be signed? I am afraid to predict anything, but I think that we must complete this work as soon as possible, perhaps in two weeks, before our big neighbor changes its mind. This can happen, because trade relations with Lithuania are insignificant for Russia. Of course, we can make Russia remember us by stepping up pressure on Kaliningrad—the latter is also interested in transit and other conditions. However, the policy of pressure is unwise, and it is better to reach a normal agreement."

Talks With Russia on Nuclear Energy To Continue

WS2307100893 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1415 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 292]

[Text] Vilnius, July 21 (ELTA)—It was concluded during the negotiations of Lithuanian and Russian energy experts in Moscow in 19-20 of July that a draft agreement on cooperation of both countries in the field nuclear energy in it's essence is satisfactory for both parties. Still not all of the issues have been settled down. The biggest debates arose on the agreement chapter in which Russia is proposing that all changes in the project documentation and reglament documentation of the Ignalina nuclear power plant can be made only with agreement of Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy. Lithuania on it's part is suggesting that Russia provides with technical, material and financial assistance in promoting Ignalina's plant's security and informs on due time Lithuania about defects of reactors and machinery caused and noticed by Russian side plus about the measures to be undertaken to remove these defects. This and other issues will be on the agenda of the extended meeting for the negotiations between Russian and Lithuanian experts in the end of August in Vilnius. Fourteen chapters of the agreement provide Russia's and Lithuania's cooperation in the fields of energy and ecology plus supply of all the equipment and parts necessary for the exploitation of the plant. Russia promises to train specialists of the atomic energy, agrees to store a nuclear waste from the Ignalina plant. Cassettes of the burned fuel will be neutralized in Russia which will return to Lithuania the residues. On it's behalf Lithuania must immediately inform Russia about all extra-events in the Ignalina nuclear power plant. The

agreement between Russia and Lithuania on cooperation in the field of nuclear energy should become a part of the economical cooperation agreement being prepared at the moment.

Agreements Signed With Kazakhstan 21 Jul

LD2107161093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius July 21 TASS—A governmental delegation from the Republic of Kazakhstan led by the republic's Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko arrived in Vilnius today for talks with the Government of Lithuania. The talks aim to restore economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural ties between the newly sovereign countries which were severed after the breakup of the former Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian delegation is being led to talks by the head of the Cabinet of Ministers Adolfas Slezevicius. The two prime ministers held talks in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and signed agreements on air traffic, passenger and freight motor transport and railway communications. After the ceremony of signing the agreements, the leaders of the two delegations held a press conference during which they praised the talks and their results.

They added that they had also discussed prospects for cooperation in the sphere of legal assistance, post services and the opening of the two countries' diplomatic missions in each other's capital.

It was stressed that the present level of economic and trade relations between the two countries cannot suit either party and they pledged to work to expand and enliven their relations.

Further on Agreements

WS2207100393 Tallinn BNS in English 1623 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Vilnius, July 21, BNS—Lithuania's Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius and his Kazakh counterpart Sergey Tereshchenko signed a free trade agreement in Vilnius Wednesday [21 July].

Tereshchenko made a short stop in Lithuania on his way to Australia.

The agreement cancels quota limitations on mutual supplies. Slezevicius said both countries also want to expand their economic ties and to balance export-import duties.

Lithuania and Kazakhstan also signed three agreements on cooperation in air, motor and railway transportation.

Both sides agreed to exchange trade missions to coordinate work between Lithuanian and Kazakh commercial businesses.

The present trade volumes do not satisfy either Lithuania or Kazakhstan, the Lithuanian prime minister said at a press conference after the signing. Slezevicius said the volume of trade with Kazakhstan makes up only 1.5 percent of Lithuania's exports and imports. "This does not reflect the potential trade possibilities," said the two premiers in a protocol signed after their meeting.

Tereshchenko said Lithuania would like to buy Kazakh wheat, coal and oil. Kazakhstan can start supplies immediately, he said. "But we want stable partners."

There are also good possibilities to process Kazakh wool and oil in Lithuania, said Tereshchenko. The two government leaders discussed the feasibility of refining Kazakhstan's oil at the Mazeikiai oil refinery and selling the products abroad.

They also spoke about ways to use Lithuania's wool processing companies because the Kazakh wool industry is much weaker. "It is always better to export goods than raw materials," said Tereshchenko.

Kazimieras Klimasauskas, Lithuania's industry and trade minister, leaves for Kazakhstan soon to discuss further cooperation and ways of establishing trade missions.

Slezevicius says both countries will be able to establish their missions within a month or two.

Commenting on the transport agreements, the two premiers said Lithuania wants transit through Kazakhstan to China and the Far East, while Kazakhstan would like to reach northern Europe through the Klaipeda port.

Accords on Relations, Cultural Ties Signed With Germany

LD2107212393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] An agreement on the principles of relations and an agreement on cultural exchanges were signed today in Bonn between Lithuania and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The documents were signed on behalf of Germany by Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, and on behalf of Lithuania by Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys.

A government protocol was signed, too. It provides for the training of Lithuanian economic managers in Germany. Kinkel and Gylys expressed their united opinion during the signing ceremony that Lithuania should be included without delay in the work of various European organizations.

'Half' of Friendship Agreement With Poland Coordinated

WS2207100793 Tallinn BNS in English 1623 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Vilnius, July 21, BNS—Lithuanian and Polish delegations coordinated roughly half of a draft agreement on friendship and cooperation, but the most difficult paragraphs were put aside for the future.

The delegations met in Warsaw July 19. Andrzej Ananicz, Poland's vice minister of foreign affairs, said the Lithuanian delegation was very willing to negotiate and very pragmatic.

Vladislovas Domarkas, Lithuania's vice minister of foreign affairs, said a friendly atmosphere prevailed at the talks. He predicts the agreement may be signed this year.

The Lithuanian delegation was led by Domarkas, not by vice minister Virginijus Papirtis, as reported earlier.

Domarkas also met with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Poland's foreign minister.

"The Polish foreign minister well understands the significance of this agreement not only to Poland and Lithuania, but to all of Europe," the Lithuanian official said in an interview with the newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS. Skubiszewski wants the treaty signed as soon as possible, he said.

The Poland suggested the groups postpone an interpretation of the 1920-39 events when Poland seized a considerable part of Lithuania, including Vilnius. The issue will be discussed at upcoming meetings.

Lithuania expects a very clear historic account of the events because certain forces in Poland still consider Vilnius "a Polish city," say Lithuanian officials.

"There are certain problems in the paragraphs on borders because we still don't have an agreement on the border with Poland," said Domarkas.

Some questions on economic cooperation remained open, as well. Lithuania already prepared a draft for a treaty on economic cooperation.

The two parties coordinated all the paragraphs on ethnic minorities, but were short of time to touch on the issue of cultural and scientific cooperation.

The next meeting is scheduled for September in Vilnius.

Landsbergis Criticizes 'Repressive' Draft Laws

WS2107123493 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian No 131, 10 Jul 93 p 6

[Article by opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis under the "Opposition Leader's Column" rubric: "Forward"]

[Text] Right before the summer vacation, the Lithuanian Seimas was forcing through particularly repressive laws, as though it had no intention of resting, but only of persecuting someone. The living standard is low, and the people are angry with the authorities for the unfulfilled promises. They also see the official and even legalized appropriation of land and the mafia's indomitable appetite. The disputable law on preliminary arrest should be devoted to combating the mafia. However, its future application and the possible abuse of power by the police and courts invoke many doubts. Another better-considered law is necessary, but the majority is forcing this one through. According to Seimas Deputy Zita Slicyte, the current law will allow the authorities to freely apply it against their economic or political rivals. To put it figuratively, the mafia of the party nomenklatura will suppress other "mafias" with the help of this law, remaining under the protective wing of the Seimas majority and a group of comrades in the police and courts. The shadow economy can be successfully centralized, as was the case with the former official economy. This will bring no good to anyone, because most restrictions and rules of the new law will turn those people who participate in protest demonstrations, strikes, or pickets into offenders. They want us to forget the events of five years ago, when the police beat hunger strikers on Cathedral Square and tried them the same day for being beaten and for causing unrest. The People's Court acquitted them, but would it acquit demonstrators today? One regional court is preparing to try deportees for singing at the wrong time and place.

We find such cheerful things in the law on assembly as the demand to present in advance information about "the contents of slogans, posters, and other visual facilities to be used in an assembly, and the topics of speeches and reports...." It is "forbidden to organize assemblies" if the participants **violate moral norms through objects in their possession** (LDDP's [Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party] draft, Article 17, Paragraph 4). We also find such totally cheerless things as the rule that the police and the officials of the interior service **can use firearms with the aim of discontinuing violations of the law** (LDDP's draft, Article 27). They are digging this sort of grave for the singing revolution.

The law on the state of emergency, of course, surpasses everything. Its draft published in AMZIUS states that the president and the Seimas can introduce the state of emergency if there are any events that pose a threat to "public peace." This is a very broad concept. One can understand that society must be quiet, silent, and obedient, otherwise it can end up by seeing a state of emergency. The same applies to separate individuals or their groups whose actions would be treated as "contradicting the law." In this event, the authorities may use any campaign to order and impose the state of emergency on all. Moreover, in particular cases such an order may be imposed "immediately and without notice." The same authorities will interpret the meaning of the **cases** that pose a threat to public peace, and the establishment

of administrative courts, f need be. The restrictions on constitutional freedoms or a partial suspension of the Constitution will be introduced "considering the nature of threats and the complete circumstances." All formulas are very indefinite, as in the good old Soviet times. They will be followed by definite bans on published newspapers broadcast radio news, by decisions to "take away" typewriters and "information production", and similar niceties. First of all, the ban on the "obstructionist" parties and assemblies, and later "the suspension of imparting information about citizens"—most probably about the suspects detained "for the entire period of the state of emergency."

It is characteristic that the repressive laws have been written by a rough, ruthless, and menacing hand. I wonder whether at least part of the Seimas majority will realize that some things must be corrected in them, or whether they will vote for everything, even for the style that is found in the Law on the State of Emergency. "The preventive of the press and other mass media, or the temporary suspension or ban of their activities." [sentence as published] This is a complete sentence, and its style reflects its spiritual contents. Here is one more sentence: "Non-production and non-public that number no more than 50 people, the restriction on their publication order." [sentence as published] One can only wonder what illiterate people write such laws. However, the latter will be submitted for a vote and will probably be adopted in a hurry. Any amendments that would make them more comprehensible would require enormous efforts by the opposition. However, I doubt whether we can in general participate in amending the law that was devised as a repressive one, and that is supposed to be a Soviet-type law against the people. Certainly, by adopting such primitive laws, the LDDP will pave the way for its own allegedly "lawful" dictatorship. Another question is whether this party will ever introduce it. This will depend on the level of fear.

Senior Adviser Denies President's Team 'Incompetent'

LD2207222193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1635 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius, 22 Jul—At a news conference for local and foreign correspondents today, Academician Raimondas Rajeckas, senior advisor to the president of Lithuania, denied claims made in the media and by the opposition in the republic that many individuals from "the entourage or the team of President Brazauskas" are incompetent. He said: "In any case I do not like the term 'entourage' that has been frequently used by the press and the opposition. We are talking about a body of highly qualified presidential advisers, who are striving to assist the head of state in all areas, and who, on the whole, make up the presidency, not an entourage."

The president's apparatus, said R. Rajeckas, is not numerous. It has a total staff of only 60 people, including technical personnel.

He also denied reports in some newspapers about the "incredible salary" of the head of state. "A month's salary of Algirdas Brazauskas, president of Lithuania, surprisingly, is lower than that of an ordinary member of the republic's Seimas. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Government, National Bank Issue Joint Statement on Litas

WS2307100693 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1415 GMT 22 Jul 93

["Lithuanian Government and Bank of Lithaunia Joint Statement"—ELTA headline; from ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 292a]

[Text] 22 July 1993—Lithuanian government commission has reviewed an agreement concluded by Bank of Lithuania and by Svenska Handelsbanken on printing of Litas banknotes as well as documents, related to its implementation and arrived at a conclusion that the agreement contains technical and legislative drawbacks and violates economic security of Lithuanian treasury. Apart from that, litas banknotes are not adequately protected from forgery, statement of the commission reads. Upon implementation of the agreement a number of serious infrigements were committed: a protecting thread has been removed, it has been resorted to printing means which provide lower protection guarantees, and the quality of water marks is very low. While printing litas banknotes, the corporation has not used means ensuring litas security as well as has not applied high quality control standards.

Bank of Lithuania has made alterations concerning terms of the agreement without consulting Lithuania's government, it did not monitor how it was being implemented, and carried now investigations for evaluation of litas quality and their usability. Inadequate organisation of printing of Litas banknotes as well as bad control resulted in moral dissatisfaction of Lithuanian people and in financial losses, the statement reads. Draging on the introduction of national currency was attributed to a bad organisation of printing of banknotes. Considering Lithuania's economic situation it is clear that the time chosen for the introduction of litas was not very advantageous. Bank of Lithuania should take steps ensuring speedy printing of new banknotes the nominal value of which is 10, 20 and 50 and which are protected better. The Prosecutor's office and Court of Lithuania is going to announce final conclusions on damage imposed on Treasury of Lithuania, the statement reads.

IMF Director Promises Support for National Bank

WS2307100793 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1415 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 292a]

[Text] Vilnius, July 21 (ELTA)—Spokesmen of Bank of Lithuania announced that on the first day of litas circulating as the only legal tender on the territory of Lithuania, an IMF mission arrived in Vilnius. During the meeting, chief of bank of Lithuania, Romualdas Visokavicius, hailed the introduction of litas as a success, and pointed out that inflation has fallen. Assistance of IMF experts was highly effective during the intensive work demanded by monetary changes.

Mr Visokavicius regretted that the central bank was compelled against bitter recommendations of IMF to raise artificially dollar exchange rate.

IMF director Mr Adalbert Knobl pledged to investigate into laws and projects passed by bank of Lithuania on privatisation of banks and to draw conclusions about their efficiency. Mr Knobl remarked that achievements were due to stringent monetary policy of Bank of Lithuania. IMF is ready to back up Bank of Lithuania currently under pressures.